



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

Stanford University Libraries

3 6105 117 831 565



54

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

1493-1898

。 *The* PHILIPPINE ISLANDS 1493-1898

Explorations by Early Navigators, Descriptions of the Islands and their Peoples, their History and Records of the Catholic Missions, as related in contemporaneous Books and Manuscripts, showing the Political, Economic, Commercial and Religious Conditions of those Islands from their earliest relations with European Nations to the close of the Nineteenth Century

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINALS

Edited and annotated by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, with historical introduction and additional notes by EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE. With maps, portraits and other illustrations

Volume XXXVII—1669-1676



The Arthur H. Clark Company
Cleveland, Ohio
MCMVI

U
S
N
A
L
A
R
C
H
I
V
E
S
1
6
6
9
-
1
6
7
6

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 1034 1035 1036 1037 1038 1039 1

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXXVII

Preface	9
Miscellaneous Documents, 1669-1676	
Events in Filipinas, 1668. [Unsigned; Francisco de Figueroa?]; Manila, Jan- uary 15, 1669	23
The Dominicans in the Philippines, 1641- 69. Baltasar de Santa Cruz, O.P.; 1676. [From his <i>Historia</i> .]	64
The Augustinians in the Philippines, 1641- 70. Casimiro Diaz, O.S.A.; Manila, 1718. [From his <i>Conquistas</i> .]	149
Manila and the Philippines about 1650 (to be concluded). Domingo Fernandez Navarrete, O.P.; Madrid, 1676. [From his <i>Tratados historicos</i> .]	285
Bibliographical Data	307

84467

ILLUSTRATIONS

- Map of the Philippine Islands, showing province of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine; photographic facsimile of engraving in Lubin's *Orbis Augustinianus. . . ordinis eremitarum Sancti Augustini* (Paris, 1639), map 37; from copy in Library of Congress. 147
- Plan of Manila Cathedral prior to 1750; photographic facsimile from original manuscript in Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla. . 201
- Plan of Manila Cathedral, showing the new structure building in 1754; photographic facsimile from original manuscript in Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla. . . 205

PREFACE

Most of this volume is occupied with accounts of the Dominican and Augustinian missions in the islands during the period 1641-70; they are enabled to maintain fairly flourishing activities by the aid of new reënforcements. These chronicles also contain, as usual, much interesting secular information; the most important occurrences in the secular affairs of the islands are the rise and fall of Governor Fajardo's favorite Venegas, and the arrest of Governor Diego Salcedo by the Inquisition (at the instance of Auditor Bonifaz, who then usurps the government). The latter incident is related in detail by a Spanish officer imprisoned by the usurper.

A document of especial human interest is a letter (January 15, 1669) written from the dungeons of Fort Santiago in Manila, by an unnamed officer imprisoned therein by the usurping auditor Bonifaz. He relates in full the arrest (1668) of Governor Diego de Salcedo by the commissary of the Inquisition, the usurpation of the government of the islands by Bonifaz, and the imprisonment of himself and other loyalists on suspicion of attempting to rescue the governor from durance. The attitude of the writer is unusual, for at the outset he announces his gratitude and loyalty to his patron, Salcedo's

predecessor, Manrique de Lara, then under charges – from which he was later acquitted – in his residencia; and he speaks of Salcedo without any blame or resentment, although the governor had deprived him of his military command. This document is freely annotated from another contemporary account, long and diffuse; the two cast much light on political and religious affairs in Manila at the time, especially on the possibilities for evil embodied in the Inquisition.

Extracts from Santa Cruz's *Historia* (Zaragoza, 1693) cover the history of the Dominican order in the Philippines for 1641-69. Fray Francisco de Paula is elected provincial in 1641, at which time the order has barely enough religious to fill its actual ministries – a lack which is afterward supplied as an answer to prayer. The location of the Parián is changed, in 1640; and the entire quarter is destroyed by fire, two years later. In 1644 Diego de Fajardo comes to the islands as governor – under whom they “tasted all sorts of government.” The chief events of his term of office are recounted, and the more important transactions of the Dominican chapter-sessions of 1647 and 1650. In the former year dies the aged provincial, Fray Domingo González; he is succeeded by Fray Carlos Gant. In 1648 a patache reaches the islands in safety, although it has to be burned, immediately after unlading, to save it from the Dutch; but those enemies thereupon leave the islands, which they have not since infested. This vessel also brings a reënforcement of thirty Dominican religious, which greatly encourages the missionaries; and various ecclesiastical favors and concessions. Santa Cruz recounts the more import-

ant acts of the provincial chapter-session of 1650, and furnishes biographical sketches of many Dominican missionaries in the islands. He then proceeds to relate the arrest and death of Fajardo's quondam favorite Venegas.

In 1652 Fray Pedro de Ledo becomes provincial; at this same chapter-session is formally announced the erection of Santo Tomás college into a university; and the mission of Ituy is more fully organized. The savage mountaineers of that region are well described by our author; their conversion is a difficult matter. In 1653 distinguished personages arrive at Manila, including Governor Manrique de Lara and Archbishop Poblete. The Dominican chapter enact that every lecturer in their university must know at least one of the native languages. In 1654 attempt is made, but fruitlessly, to send a mission to Japan; finally, five missionaries succeed in reaching China, where they labor zealously to convert the heathen. The provincial chosen in 1656 is Fray Jacinto Gali, but he dies soon afterward, while visiting Cagayán; his place is taken by Fray Lucas Montanero. On August 20, 1658, occurs an earthquake, itself more severe than that of 1645, but its succeeding shocks being lighter. The Dominican convent is badly injured, and the friars with difficulty find lodgings. A large reënforcement of missionaries arrives in this same year. At the chapter-session of 1659, the Dominicans refuse to permit their missionaries in China to accept offering of lands, fearing that the Chinese may regard them as actuated by selfish motives. At that of 1661, Fray Felipe Pardo (afterward famous as commissary of the Inquisition and as archbishop of Manila) is

elected provincial. Two years later, arrangements are made for printing a ritual for use by the missionaries of the order. In the same year (1663) Salcedo arrives at Manila as governor; his career is briefly reviewed. The provincial elected in 1665 is Fray Juan de los Angeles; and in the following year thirty-nine more Dominicans join their brethren in Filipinas. The ship which brings them is detained by bad weather on the coast of Sámar, where a Jesuit missionary shows them all most generous hospitality, refusing any compensation. A letter from the head of the Dominican order to Morales is reproduced. In 1667 Archbishop Poblete dies at Manila, after fourteen years' service. In that year the intermediary chapter-session is held, at which measures are taken to restrain the members of the order from unauthorized interference with, or censure of, the civil government. Two more Dominicans arrive from Mexico in 1668, and the remarkable escape of one of them, with several other Spaniards, from death by shipwreck is related. Several friars proceed, amid great difficulties, to the Chinese missions. The Dominicans are laboring among the Zambales, many of whom become Christians and settle in mission villages; and they hope that they may soon do the same for the heathen Irrayas.

An account of the Augustinian friars in the Philippines for 1641-70 is furnished by Casimiro Diaz in his *Conquistas*. At the chapter-session of 1641, Fray Gerónimo de Medrano is elected provincial. Soon afterward, Archbishop Guerrero dies; a sketch of his life and character is presented by Diaz. Three years later, Medrano is succeeded by

Fray Alonso Carvajal; and Diego Fajardo comes as governor of the islands, his personal and official character being outlined by our writer. The threats of the Dutch, and their conquest of Hermosa, fill the Spaniards with great anxiety. Unfortunately, Fajardo is dominated by the influence of a favorite, Venegas, to which very ill results are attributed. The peace made with the Moros is only temporary; for when they see the Spaniards so harried by the Dutch they again infest the Visayas. The Acapulco galleons arrive safely, although the Dutch ships lie in wait for them. One of them carries the new archbishop of Manila, who dies just before reaching the islands. In 1647 the Augustinians choose Fray Diego de Ordás as their provincial. Soon afterward, they decide to establish in Mexico a hospice for their religious who must halt there on their journey from Spain to the Philippines. In this same year the Dutch finally cease to molest those islands; and in Jolo they are, although favored by the natives, unable to dislodge the Spaniards. They are also foiled in an attack on Zamboanga. An Augustinian friar is killed by the Negritos, of which people Diaz gives an interesting description; this murder is afterward avenged by Heaven, all concerned in it becoming lepers. Diaz mentions in forcible terms the unhappiness, suffering, and terror caused in Manila by the harsh measures of Fajardo's favorite. Another great misfortune is the loss of the galleon "Encarnación," which brings ruin to many citizens of Manila.

In 1650, Medrano is elected provincial of his order for the third time. With much difficulty, the Augustinians finally succeed in despatching a procurator to Spain to obtain a reënforcement of mis-

sionaries. Diaz relates the events of 1651-52, mainly including the harsh and illegal acts of Fajardo's favorite, Venegas, and the latter's downfall — this being brought about by the courage of the Augustinian provincial Medrano, who makes complaint of Venegas to the governor. In 1653, Fray Andrés de Verdugo is elected provincial; and the new governor, Manrique de Lara, arrives, with Archbishop Poblete, and bishops for all the three suffragan sees. Fajardo is sent to Spain, but dies on the voyage; his favorite Venegas dies in prison, and all his property is confiscated. The new governor and archbishop do all in their power to remedy the sad condition in which they find Manila. The latter, however, attempts to enforce the right of episcopal visitation of the friars in charge of parishes, whereupon those posts are abandoned by the religious orders. The matter is referred to the Audiencia, who enjoin the archbishop to suspend the visitation in such cases until the Council of the Indias can take action on the question; that Council did not support his claims. Diaz discusses quite fully the subject of such visitation, largely from the practical standpoint; he argues that the system in vogue in Nueva España cannot be properly applied in Filipinas, where conditions are so different. Poblete devotes his energies to rebuilding the cathedral, which had been ruined in the earthquake of 1645; but many obstacles hinder its completion, and it is not dedicated until 1671. In 1654 a reënforcement of Augustinian missionaries arrives, who are greatly needed in the province. Brief notices of these are presented; all of them are natives of Nueva España. Diaz relates the oppression of the

natives in the building of ships for Manila, which has been the cause of several past insurrections; the loss of some galleons by shipwreck is considered by many a judgment from Heaven on the cruelties practiced on the natives in building those vessels. In 1656, Alonso Quijano is elected provincial; during his term, many members of his province die, and its burdens are very heavy. Ordás is again elected provincial in 1659. Diaz relates the great losses of the Philippine people during Manrique de Lara's term, mainly by shipwrecks, which bury men, money, and ships. Insurrections of the natives occur, which are quieted, but at much loss and cost. In 1662 Fray Alonso Coronel is elected provincial; especial attention is given by the Augustinians to their missions in northern Luzón. The galleon sent out that year reaches Acapulco in safety; this gives opportunity for the new governor Salcedo and an Augustinian mission, who have been waiting long in Mexico for a ship, to pass over to Filipinas. A Recollect mission also arrives in the same expedition. Compelled by storms to land on the coast of Cagayán, they all make their way overland to Manila, experiencing great hardships. Diaz presents brief notices of all the new missionaries of his order, and relates the more important events in the early years of Salcedo's term of office. Dissensions arise between the two new auditors, which later result in disaster to the whole community. Manrique de Lara is sent back to Spain, and exonerated from the charges made in his residencia. Salcedo accomplishes much in shipbuilding and the extension of commerce. Fray Alonso Quijano is re-elected provincial of the Augustinians in 1665; that

chapter again refuses the governor's demand for lists of its priests who act as curas, the Dominicans also declining to furnish such information. In that same year the Augustinians begin a mission to the Apayaos, in charge of the fervent Fray Benito de Mena; he succeeds after many labors and hardships, in establishing three villages of these converts. Salcedo determines "to undertake some conquest that would result to the honor of God and extend the Spanish government;" the council that he summons for advice on this point agree (both military officers and superiors of religious orders) that the most promising enterprise of this sort is the conquest of the Igorot tribes in northern Luzón. Diaz gives a brief sketch of these peoples, and relates their conquest by a Spanish expedition (1668), and the subsequent conversion of many heathen there by Augustinian missionaries.

Salcedo causes a galleon to be built at Albay, the largest and best yet made in these islands. Diaz complains of the practice of sending criminals from Mexico to Filipinas. In 1667, the first mission to the Marianas Islands sets out; it is composed of Jesuits, under the leadership of Sanvitores, later famous for his martyrdom in those islands. The provincial elected by the Augustinians in 1668 is Fray Dionisio Suárez, characterized later by our writer as being "more angel than man." The number of missionaries in the order is far too small for its needs (a lack shared also by the other orders), and they are rejoiced when a reënforcement of seventeen religious arrive in that same year at Manila. Certain shipwrecked people from some remote and unknown island are driven at that time

on the shores of Capul Island; and some Spaniards are drowned while trying to cross the Embocadero. Salcedo governs five years, incurring great enmities among prominent persons in the community, which end in his arrest by the Inquisition, and a harsh imprisonment until his death. Diaz, who often visited Salcedo while in durance, gives an interesting sketch of him, and praises his pious resignation and patience in affliction; but he carefully refrains from further comment on the events connected with Salcedo's arrest, or the persons engaged in it. Diaz mentions very briefly the assumption of gubernatorial authority by the auditor Bonifaz (whom he commends as discreet and disinterested), and some of his notable acts during his brief rule. At one time, he nearly loses his life by a musket-ball, whether fired intentionally or not is uncertain. Salcedo is twice embarked for Nueva España, but is driven back by storms on the first voyage, and dies while on the second. In 1669 arrives the new governor, Don Manuel de León. His government is praised, as establishing in the islands peace and plenty; commerce flourishes, and there are no wars or revolts. With León also arrive thirty-two new laborers for the Augustinian missions, a welcome addition to their forces. The usurper Bonifaz takes refuge in the Franciscan convent, where he remains until his death. The Council of the Indias pronounces sentence against him, and renders decision in favor of the auditor Coloma. In the spring of 1670 occurs a religious function which had been long in disuse, the publication in the cathedral of Manila of the edicts of the Inquisition; this is accompanied by processions and various cere-

monies. The Augustinian province is enabled to conduct its labors much more satisfactorily, and with greater results, by the aid of its new missionaries.

A rambling, gossipy account of Manila and the Philippines in the middle of the seventeenth century, with much entertaining information regarding persons and events therein, is furnished by the Dominican friar Domingo F. Navarrete, in his *Tratados historicos* (Madrid, 1676); it is from relations of this sort, and on account of these characteristics, that the student gains additional and valuable side-lights on the history of any time or country. The *Tratados* is mainly devoted to the empire of China, where its author was a missionary during 1658-69; we present here (in both translation and synopsis) such part as relates to his stay in the Philippines (1648-53). Navarrete describes the journey thither, in picturesque and lively fashion. Acapulco has "an infernal climate." The missionaries are obliged to make the journey from Lampon to Manila by land, a trip full of hardship and danger; but they are delighted with the beauty of Pasig River, adorned with palaces, gardens, and villages. At the time, the islands are governed by Diego Fajardo, who "had great gifts for government, for he had a horror of money and of women." Navarrete censures Corcuera for many things, among them the impositions levied on the natives, which he describes in full; these occasion so much oppression and extortion that the Indians flee from the islands, or refuse to sow their fields. He mentions various instances of this oppression. In rambling and discursive fashion he relates the leading characteristics

of the natives, the occupations of the missionaries, the changes in official circles, etc. This document will be concluded in VOL. XXXVIII.

THE EDITORS

March, 1906.

MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS,
1669-1676

Events in Filipinas. [Unsigned; Francisco de Figueroa?]; January 15, 1669.

The Dominicans in the Philippines, 1641-69. Baltasar de Santa Cruz, O.P.; 1676. [From his *Historia*.]

The Augustinians in the Philippines, 1641-70. Casimiro Diaz, O.S.A.; 1718. [From his *Conquistas*.]

Manila and the Philippines about 1650 (to be concluded). Domingo Fernandez Navarrete, O.P.; 1676. [From his *Tratados historicos*.]

SOURCES: The first of these documents is obtained from the Ventura del Arco MSS. (Ayer library), ii, pp. 643-692. The second, from Santa Cruz's *Historia del Sant. Rosario* (Zaragoza, 1693), pp. 44 *et seq.*; from a copy in the possession of Edward E. Ayer, Chicago. The third, from Diaz's *Conquistas* (Manila, 1890), pp. 444 *et seq.*; from a copy in the possession of James A. Robertson. The fourth, from Navarrete's *Tratados historicos* (Madrid, 1676), pp. 299-332; from a copy in the Library of Congress; this document will be concluded in VOL. XXXVIII.

TRANSLATIONS: The first document is translated by Emma Helen Blair; the remainder, by James A. Robertson.

EVENTS IN FILIPINAS, 1668

*Copy of a letter written by a citizen of Manila to
another at the court in Madrid*

It is notorious among all the people of these islands that Don Diego Salcedo,¹ as soon as he took possession of their government, deprived me of the command that I held as captain-general of the artillery therein – without any further reason than that I was a follower of Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, his predecessor. The latter governed these islands with ability as his works show – bestowing honors with liberal hand on all the citizens of this state; and rewarding all whose standing and services deserved it, and even many more. How little gratitude he received for these favors may be learned from his own confession and statement. He suffered much in the residencia which he furnished of his government; although he deserved to leave it with

¹ While in Mexico on his way to Filipinas, Salcedo personally raised the sum of 100,000 pesos, and spent it in procuring soldiers for the islands – paid and voluntary enlistments, not convicts. "And in order that the officials at Mexico might not hinder or obstruct the despatch of the situado (which that year amounted to 220,000 pesos), he agreed with them that they could deduct in their own favor 30,000 pesos, which they were to invest in merchandise in Manila and China, and remit to the persons who drew up the document, . . . to which Governor Salcedo had to accede, since in no other way could he have obtained the succor [for the islands]." (Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, pp. 494, 495.)

laurels, he experienced intolerable severities inflicted by those whom he had most benefited. Don Diego was not content with depriving me of my command, but desired to inflict further injury upon me, and one which would result in more annoyance to Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara – to whom I owe what I am; and I have striven to repay, to some extent, by personal service the much that I owed him by attending to the business matters that came up in his residencia, and providing an outfit of stores for his voyage. In order, therefore, to remove me from Don Sabiniano's side, Don Diego commanded me to go with some infantry to protect the coast of the province of Tayabas; he said that he had news that the armed fleets of Borneo and Mindanao were roaming about infesting the villages of the island of Mindoro, and that they comprised 170 vessels. His object, as above stated, was evident in the scanty equipment of men and supplies that was furnished to me. I remained there until Don Sabiniano entreated that I might be withdrawn [from that post], since the time of his embarkation for Nueva España was very near, and he desired to settle with me some matters relating to his outfit, as his Lordship could not do this with any one else. But my permission [to retire] came so late that when I arrived in this city Don Sabiniano was already at the port of Cavite to go on shipboard; and I had only five days in which to aid his Lordship, when the ship set sail. I bring forward all this in order to show that I am not governed by prejudice.

Now, stating the case, I declare that on October 9 of this present year at one o'clock at night the palace was entered by the father commissary of the Holy

Office, Fray Jose Paternina, with the two *alcaldes-in-ordinary*, General Sebastian Rayo and Don Nicolas de Pamplona, *Sargento-mayor* Diego de Morales, and Captains Don Gonzalo Samaniego (a nephew of the commissary) and Don Juan de Vargas – both citizens who hold that office in this royal camp, each commanding a company; also Don Juan de Robles, and three or four others. Twenty other men remained in various offices of the palace, and eighteen or twenty friars of St. Francis all armed. These visitors seized Don Diego immediately placing on him a pair of fetters; he was in his shirt just as he was sleeping, and without giving him time to put on his white drawers they thrust his Lordship into a hammock, and carried him a prisoner to the convent of San Francisco. There they shut him within a cell with soldiers as guards to secure his person. The company who were on guard in the palace, on hearing the noise, were ready to spring to their arms; but the master-of-camp – who was Don Agustin de Zepeda, whom I have already mentioned, went to make the guard-room safe, and gave orders that no one should stir, because the Inquisition had been performing its duty.

By morning the news of this unheard-of occurrence had spread around; and by the time the city gates were opened the people were in amazement, which could only be understood by one who should know by experience the greatness and power of a governor of these islands. I was *alcalde-mayor* of the province of Tondo, and it gave me no little anxiety to notice the mutterings of the Indians who seemed to be rising out of a deep lethargy.

[As for the question] whether the Holy Office

could act without the coöperation of the supreme authority here, since [the governor is] a personage who represents in these islands the royal person, there is not a learned person in the two religious orders of St. Dominic and the Society who will not answer it in the negative. And as the loyal vassal has no greater obligation than to obey the commands of his king and natural lord, and in regard to the faith, that which is taught by our mother the Roman Catholic Church, without [giving it] any other interpretation than that given by the holy doctors of the Church, I know not what to say, since I will not withdraw from this or retract one jot. The disputes which Don Diego, when he came from Nueva España to govern these islands, had with the father commissary Fray Jose Paternina over some differences and grievances were public and notorious; and those whom the father commissary carried with him [for this arrest] were nearly all enemies of Don Diego. It is not a rash assumption by those who are more inclined to reflect that this affair was thus hurried through more through passion than through virtuous zeal. I base my opinion on the following reasons, not to mention many others which I reserve for their proper time, as I have not leisure at present for writing more at length – submitting myself to the correction of the Holy Office; for I am, and am proud of being, a Christian Catholic and a descendant of the Catholic knights.

The first, as I said, was that the father commissary was at outs with his Lordship on account of disputes between them during the voyage. Moreover, the father commissary was poor and his provincial, father Fray Alonso Quijano, had not provided him

with any post as prior in his order, and had not treated the commissary as the latter wished. Then too, the governor had given no office to Captain Don Gonzalo Samaniego, the commissary's nephew—whom his uncle the commissary so valued, and so endeavored to provide for; and, although the nephew was appointed a captain in this royal camp, he was not captain of any company on account of the scarcity of men, since the reënforcements sent by the viceroy of Nueva España to his Lordship were very limited.

The master-of-camp was a declared enemy, because a few months before Don Diego had arrested him and placed him in the castle of Santiago at the port of Cavite, and brought suit against him—from which he afterward came out free.

[The same is true of] General Sebastian Rayo for the following reason: that during the five years while Don Diego was governor Don Sebastian was twice arrested—once by order of Don Francisco Coloma, former judge of the residencia of Don Sabiniano, on account of matters pertaining to the said residencia; and because on Corpus Christi day, when it was celebrated this year, he refused to allow the captain of the guard, Don Juan de Ezquerro, to walk in the place belonging to the alcaldes. [General Sebastian Rayo], not wishing the captain of the guard to retire from his place accompanying the procession, turned toward his Lordship, and in a loud voice said to the [officials of] the city of Manila, "Only his Majesty and those who represent his royal person can settle this matter, and no one else can do so with proper zeal." His Lordship was displeased at the manner in which he spoke to him in

so public a place, while walking in the group of the Audiencia with the honorable auditors, and regarded his speech as disrespectful. When the procession was ended, the governor ordered the general to be arrested and placed in the castle at the port of Cavite, bringing suit against him. During this interval, the said General Rayo was at the point of death; for he was in distress from the dampness of that locality and the disease of beri-beri from which he suffered. At his petition the governor removed the general to the city, so that he might stay in his house as a prisoner, until the conclusion of his suit; but the imprisonment of his Lordship occurred before that time.

Captain Don Nicolas de Pamplona, the second alcalde, also bore a grudge against his Lordship—partly on account of the said imprisonment of the master-of-camp, Don Agustin de Cepeda, his brother-in-law; and partly because his Lordship had imprisoned him also, because complaint had been made to his Lordship by father Fray Pedro Bautista, former provincial of the Order of St. Francis, that the said captain while alcalde-mayor of the province of Bulacan had levied a repartimiento of Indians to cut timber for building his house in the city.

Sargento-mayor Diego de Morales was also resentful because his Lordship sent him to the province of Cagayan for military service, and it is not long since he was recalled thence.

The provincial of St. Francis, Fray Francisco Solier, was a man of very little discretion although virtuous; and the [Franciscan] guardian, Fray Mateo de la Asuncion (who was quite uneducated) came two years ago with a shipment of forty re-

ligious of his order. The other fathers, his subordinates, did not conceal their anger against his Lordship for having commanded them to take out of the ship that sailed this year for Nueva España the custodio² whom they were sending thither; they did not consider the grants that his Lordship had made to their order – at one time giving them 5,000 pesos by means of which they were able to complete their church, which had a representation of Paradise. They talked so indiscreetly about the governor that many persons were afraid to hear them. Similar things could be said of the rest who were present at the seizure of his Lordship.

Having arrested the governor, that very night the father commissary wrote a letter to the auditors, who had met in a session of Audiencia, informing them of the imprisonment of the governor and demanding that they open his Majesty's decrees, in order to carry out the royal will – since his Majesty commands that in an emergency when there is lack of a governor, either through death or for other reasonable cause, the royal Audiencia shall govern in civil affairs, and the senior auditor in military matters. Don Francisco Coloma undertook to assume the military government as the senior auditor in the court; but this was opposed by Don Francisco Mansilla, who claimed that he was the senior because he took the oath one week before Señor Coloma did so. He said that although afterward he allowed Señor Coloma to take precedence, it was through his fear of the governor, Don Diego de Salcedo – because the latter came from España on very intimate terms

² A dignity among the Franciscan friars, inferior to that of provincial (Dominguez's *Diccionario nacional*).

with Señor Coloma, and his Lordship desired Señor Coloma to take precedence and never surrender his rank as senior.

Señor Coloma alleged the fact that he was in possession, and other arguments, and nothing was settled; and as the desire and the ambition to command were shared alike by all, the cunning of Don Juan Manuel de la Peña Bonifaz^a was employed for his appointment as judge of the controversy. This he soon obtained, [the others] thinking that he would quickly settle the difficulty. He said that he had no notes of the acts which had been issued regarding this case, and, that he might come to a clearer understanding, these should be handed over to him; and stated that in a few days he would announce his decision regarding the difference in priority. All agreed to this; but immediately another and more important question arose – who was to hold the [disputed] authority in the interval while Don Juan Manuel was deciding the question of seniority? The latter, as one who was sagacious, finding himself now the umpire of the dispute, told Señor Coloma that his position would be aided by depositing the authority in his hands [*i.e.*, Don Juan's]; and he said the same to Señor Mansilla. As each one of the claimants desired to propitiate Don Juan in behalf of his respective claims, both agreed that the authority should be deposited in his hands – not heeding the

^a He came to Manila in 1666, as auditor. Although in Mexico he had received two years' pay, he reached the islands so poor that he had no money for paying the first third of his *media anata*; at this, Salcedo pitied him, and compounded his debt with the royal officials. Bonifaz then proceeded to scheme and intrigue for his own selfish ends, occasioning much scandal and commotion in Manila. (Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, pp. 512-516.)

numberless difficulties that might result from this, as was actually the case. For, finding that he possessed the military command, he began his schemes that very morning – paying compliments to the officers and displaying great kindness to the soldiers, pitying them for their many privations. Then, taking the money of Governor Don Diego de Salcedo which had been seized,⁴ on that very day, the night after Don Diego's arrest, Don Juan ordered the signal to be given for calling the soldiers together, and paid the infantry their arrears of wages. All, delighted with the money then received and the greater amounts that they expected afterward, rendered thanks to the possessor, or rather usurper of the new post of command; for it has ever been that novelty is applauded by the common crowd.

The two claimants continued their efforts to assert their rights; but, without hearing them or waiting

⁴ When Salcedo was arrested, all his property was seized, and the commissary of the Inquisition took possession of all his papers – including letters, royal decrees, and official documents – books of accounts, and papers in lawsuits against various citizens. These last the commissary, induced by gifts and bribes, surrendered to the persons concerned without keeping any record of such suits. The commissary gave many jewels and other valuable articles seized from Salcedo to his relatives and friends, especially to the usurper Bonifaz. The latter appointed Diego de Palencia, one of the conspirators, as alcalde-mayor of the Sangleys and their Parián, "which is the most profitable office that can be bestowed in these islands," and royal depository – in virtue of which latter office a considerable part of Salcedo's wealth was placed in his hands, part of it being placed in the royal treasury. Later, the commissary secured possession of most of what Palencia held; and the usurper spent most of what had been placed in the treasury for paying the soldiery and securing the friendship of the citizens. (*Ventura del Arco MSS.*, ii, pp. 578, 579.)

It is possible that the author of this document is Francisco de Figueroa, who was alcalde-mayor of Tondo in 1660 (*Diaz's Conquistas*, p. 575).

for anything more, the new commander issued an act after consulting two advocates, the licentiates Don Eugenio Gutierrez de Mendoza and Don Juan de Rosales,⁵ without consulting or even noticing the fiscal of his Majesty, whom by right this matter concerned – for as the parties had a year or two before referred the decision regarding this seniority to the royal Council, his Majesty [alone] could not settle this point; and accordingly until the royal and supreme Council should render their decision, the [disputed] authority must remain *ad interim* in his gift. Don Juan ordered Tomas de Palenzuela y Zurbaran, a notary-public and his confidant, to proceed to notify the parties and the fiscal. Señor Coloma, for reasons and motives of his own, consented to the act; Señor Mansilla replied that he had arguments to bring forward, and the same reply was given on the part of the treasury.

During this interval the self-appointed governor made every effort to transfer his sway to the palace; and by the advice and opinion on this damnable intention given by his two confidants – Don Francisco de Figueroa, a crafty man of a perverse disposition; in conjunction with the turbulent nature of his second confidant, the notary Zurbaran – he, chosen by himself, commanded the companies of the soldiery to march, and with a squadron of horse took possession [of the palace]. The people were amazed, not knowing what to do at sight of so monstrous an act; and he who was most ambitious was most silent at

⁵ Rosales was a lawyer, whom the usurper released from jail, where he was placed for crimes deserving death, and made an alcalde. He was one of Bonifaz's most unscrupulous advisers and abettors. (Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, p. 605.)

seeing the new and hasty introduction of the auditor Don Juan Manuel [into the government] – astonished that this man (although he was the most recent of the auditors, and his Majesty commands that in case of the governor's death or other emergency, the senior auditor should direct military affairs), although excluded by the said decree, could usurp the government by the power which he had in a few hours obtained. From that time the minds of some persons were continually inflamed with anger, although it was dissimulated on account of the distrust which very properly prevailed toward him; but I will leave this for a later account.

Don Juan Manuel continued his rule apparently in peace, although many persons were greatly irritated at his conduct; but, as conscience pricked him, he lived in fear and with more anxiety than was necessary, for the companies of soldiers were all stationed near the palace where he now lived as the superior who had gained entrance therein.^o

A very few days later, the gentlemen of the royal Audiencia with the fiscal of his Majesty went at day-break to take refuge in the house of the Society of Jesus in this city – availing themselves of the sacred house for the greater peace and quiet of the community. There, seating themselves in a suitable apartment, they held a session [of the Audiencia];

^o The tyrant, fearful of attempts to deprive him of his usurped authority, not only maintained a guard of bowmen – making his son, ten or twelve years old, their captain – but stationed in his house two companies of musketeers from the royal troops, each of a hundred men, all being paid from the royal treasury, “something which no proprietary governor had ever done.” Besides this, he sent an escort of twelve soldiers every day with his son to the school where he was learning to read and write. (Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, p. 580.)

and for this purpose had made arrangements to carry with them the small seal which the chancellor, Don Tomas de Castro, had procured. From that place the Audiencia summoned the city [council], who immediately went thither in obedience to this call – the two *alcaldes* and the *regidores* – as also did the *sargento-mayor* and master-of-camp of the garrison. This being learned by the usurper – because not all went, as would doubtless happen – he immediately commanded that the soldiers be assembled; and he issued a proclamation that all under penalty of death and being considered traitors to his Majesty, should resort to the palace where he was, and not to the house of the Society of Jesus where the auditors were. This was promptly obeyed, because Don Juan was found to be the commander of the troops. Herein the people did not sin through evil intentions, for they are very loyal to his Majesty, but through ignorance, not knowing whom they ought to obey, or what was most to his Majesty's service; and as they heard proclamations summoning them all to the palace, under penalty of incurring treason to the king, they quickly obeyed.

The usurper being hindered by warlike preparations, the gentlemen [of the Audiencia] occupied themselves in issuing orders addressed to all persons of high standing and to the military officers,¹ that they should immediately, under penalty of being considered traitors to his Majesty, proceed to the house of the Society of Jesus. When the usurper

¹ All the military forces, both soldiers and officers, sided with the usurper Bonifaz, except the commandant of Fort Santiago, Lorenzo de Orella y Ugalde. Later, Bonifaz changed nearly all the important military offices, conferring them on his favorites and supporters. (Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, pp. 556, 557, 563.)

learned this, he forestalled their intentions by sending a large body of infantry, who completely surrounded the college on the outside – with the strictest orders that they should not allow any person to enter it of any class whatever, nor would he even allow their ordinary provisions to be carried in – using sophistical arguments to assure the common people that no one was required by obedience to go there, for the meeting of the auditors was of no account since they did not hold it in the accustomed place and hall.

In order to prevent disturbances, the auditors desiring peace and general tranquillity issued a royal decree in order that the usurper might become obedient [to their authority]. Therein they stated that as Don Francisco de Montemayor y Mansilla had surrendered the right of seniority that he claimed, the authority of captain-general had in the name of his Majesty been handed over, and its possession given to Don Francisco Coloma for the government of military affairs, in fulfilment of the royal will.^a The delivery of this royal decree into the hands of the usurper was entrusted to the zeal of the Society of Jesus, which always has been steadfast in the royal service; for no layman dared do this, seeing him so carried away by the desire to rule and in possession of the military force. Some of those fathers went to the palace (Father Geronimo de Ortega, lecturer in theology, bearing the decree) and gave

^a In Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, pp. 619-625, is a copy of the document by which Mansilla ceded (October 14, 1668) his right of seniority to Coloma – followed by a notary's attested statement that this cession was made effective. On pp. 627-641 may be found the proceedings of the Audiencia thereon, in its sessions at the Jesuit college, and its decree issued to the loyal citizens.

themselves into the power of the usurper – who, ignorant of their mission, at once received them; he answered the fathers with insolence, using offensive language toward them.

The speaker [*i.e.*, Father Ortega] explained to him that the colleges of the Society always stood and would stand with open doors to receive the king our sovereign, for its members are his loyal vassals; for that reason the religious while awaiting the decision of the usurper, patiently endured not only the epithets cast at them by the ignorant rabble, calling them “traitors” and “rebels,” but also the language of even Fray Francisco Solier who spoke to them very rudely. There were also other annoyances which I must omit, and which should be imputed to Fray Francisco and his guardian and to the commissary of the Holy Office; for although each one of these ought to have been attending to his duty, ambition kept them all three at the palace, which they did not leave for a moment.

The usurper, carefully seeking arguments for a reply to the auditors in order to justify his purpose – and on one side being stimulated by conscience to the blind obedience which he ought, as a vassal of his Majesty, to give to the royal decree; and on the other, being dominated by self-love and the ambition to gain power and riches, which distracted his mind – tried to obtain from some of his mercenary confidants those arguments which were best suited to his desires, as among those who surrounded him there were not lacking some in whom depraved purposes had the ascendant. Don Juan preferred the advice of his special confidant, Don Francisco de Figueroa, who counseled the usurper to notify the people that the royal Audiencia, which was at the house of the

Society because the auditors had gone there to organize it, had sent to the palace to summon him under penalty of treason to his Majesty if he did not at once render obedience; that accordingly all should consider whether or not it was expedient for him to go. [He advised him], as is proper in a community, to go about but a little while waiting for those persons of highest station who form its head. Figueroa showed his cunning by notifying some of his intimates to reply (as they actually did) that it was not expedient for the usurper to go to the Society's house; but that the auditors should come to hold their sessions in their customary and proper place, the hall [of the Audiencia], and that then he was under obligations to obey [the summons]. Thereupon the rest agreed with this opinion of the first speaker; and, in order to justify his evil conduct and impute it to the people, he caused them all to assemble together – although some recognizing the mistake avoided this by going out without being noticed, being overlooked among those who were discussing the affair; and with the above decision they sent away the religious.

The usurper tried in various ways to break up the assembly of the auditors and the city officials, who were at the Society's house. The first was a plan to beguile with promises Captain Don Nicolas de Pamplona, one of the two *alcaldes-in-ordinary*, to induce him to leave the house; and this succeeded, on account of his lack of sense. For, carried away by those promises, he asked the auditors' permission to go to his house and visit his wife – who, as they informed him, was in the pains of childbirth – protesting that he would return; but as soon as he went out, he went to see the usurper, who ordered him not to

go back under penalty of being a traitor to his Majesty – without heeding that Don Nicolas was an alcalde-in-ordinary and could not be subordinated to him, even if he were legitimately the military governor, but only to the auditors, who directed the civil government.

It was not so easy to persuade his companion, General Sebastian Rayo, who, as a man of ability in these matters, knew that the royal person resided in his court and not in the usurper. The latter, in order to trample on any opposition to his plans, committed the greatest iniquity than man's imagination can conceive; this was to avail himself of his intimate friend the commissary of the Holy Office, to take General Rayo under pretext of [a requisition from] the Inquisition from the Society's house. The commissary, carried away by his own personal aims and his ignorance and taking advantage of the peace and quiet prevailing among the people (which, he hinted, was [the result of] his own religious zeal), gave orders, as commissary of the holy tribunal, to Don Geronimo de Leiva, commissary in the province of Ylocos, and to Captain Don Luis de Monrroy, notary of the Holy Office, to go with their badges displayed and in behalf of the Inquisition. They summoned the said alcalde, Sebastian Rayo, who as a Catholic Christian immediately obeyed – much to his cost; for the usurper, annoyed that he had to employ the holy tribunal in order to secure the general, availed himself of the suit that Don Diego de Salcedo had brought against him, and kept him a long time prisoner in his house under the guard of soldiers.

The city council being thus broken up, the royal

court still remained entire, which gave the usurper no little anxiety in plotting the means most suitable for securing the object of his longing. For this purpose he sent a message to the auditors that they must within a very limited time hold their sessions at the palace, under penalty of death if they did not obey, since they were causing disturbances and were violating the peace; and he declared that he would aim the artillery at the college of the fathers.

In these and other unheard-of evil acts the usurper and his counselors continued; and the auditors went on issuing writs to the more prominent citizens commanding that they should, under penalties of death and being considered traitors to his Majesty, render obedience to the auditors, since the royal person resided only in his court. These efforts were useless, for the guards posted by the usurper permitted no person to leave or enter the house; but the auditors spent two days and a night in these occupations without descending from their tribunal for a moment—with courage enough to render up their souls in the service of his Catholic Majesty.

The usurper was surprised to see his designs frustrated, and, knowing the great love that Don Francisco de Coloma had for his wife, made arrangements, availing himself of the cunning and subtlety of his counselor General Don Francisco de Figueroa, that the latter should go in company with General Francisco Garcia del Fresno in his name to talk with the wife of Señor Coloma, giving her to understand that if the auditors did not depart [from the Society's house] within the limit of three hours, he had already resolved to end the affair in blood. The unhappy lady, as soon as she heard this decision from

the envoys, entered her sedan-chair and went to the Society's church; she sent some one to call her husband, and they remained alone in conversation. The result of this meeting was, that Don Francisco without being seen by any one entered his wife's chair, leaving her in the church, and went to his own house. Thus the wickedness of General Figueroa, the usurper's counselor, succeeded in breaking up the royal court, since the only persons remaining were Señor Mansilla and his Majesty's fiscal.

That the usurper might better take vengeance on Don Francisco de Mansilla y Montemayor, he assured him through the agency of the father vicar-provincial Fray Diego de San Roman, and the schoolmaster Fray Juan de Paz (who were shining lights in the Dominican order), that Señor de Mansilla and the fiscal could go with all safety to their own houses, and that he would do them no injury; consequently they began to feel relief from the extreme hardship that they had suffered. On the next day the auditors were unable on account of their fatigue to repair to the Audiencia; and immediately, on that same night, [the usurper] ordered the arrest of Don Francisco de Mansilla by the soldiers, placing him in the castle at the port of Cavite. He ordered the guards under severe penalties not to allow Señor Mansilla to speak to any person, and this lasted many days. At the entreaties of the superiors of the religious orders he was allowed to receive communion, but not to leave the castle – where I will leave him, in order to continue with other things that were happening.

The tyrant had obtained his greatest desire, and

terrified [any who might oppose him] with the example of Señor Coloma. The usurper proceeded with his rule, rewarding most those who most deserved punishment for their enormous crimes. He appointed persons to offices giving the chief and best one, which was that of Calamianes, with the title of sargento-mayor of the fleet of Yloilo to Captain Don Gonzalo Samaniego, the only nephew of his best friend, the commissary of the Holy Office – who also recommended those who showed themselves most prominent in the arrest of Don Diego de Salcedo. This the tyrant readily and gladly followed, giving the charge of the Sangley's Parian to Captain Diego de Palencia, and honoring with new appointments as admirals Captain Don Juan Robles y Cortes and Captain Don Juan de Vargas Machuca; and he rewarded not only the others who assisted in the said imprisonment, but those who most aided the usurper for their own private advantage.

As the usurper was supplied with a large quantity of money – that which he had seized from Don Diego, and the situado^o which had just arrived from Nueva España – he undertook to be generous at the cost of his Majesty in order to conciliate others, issuing money-orders and making payments at his pleasure. Accordingly, the first business which he despatched was to issue a warrant to himself, not only for what the king owed him, but, as that was not sufficient for him, [he added] several thousands more on account of what would yet be due for his

^o This amounted to 400,000 pesos, although 500,000 were needed for the expenses of the islands (Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, pp. 611, 617).

official services;¹⁰ and for his son, a boy of eight or nine years, who held a military office – which, as it was needless, Don Diego would have abolished – he ordered the certification and payment of the entire amount. To satisfy those whose support was important to him and to justify himself to the people, he ordered that all the arrears [of pay] which the royal treasury was owing to the auditors be paid in full; and afterward [only] what he allowed was paid to them. Nor was anything paid to such persons as were not concerned with the arrest of Don Diego, or at least [approved] his detention in prison.

As so much property had been seized from Don Diego,¹¹ especially in jewels and gold, there was occasion for temptation to the most upright man when the inventories were made; and, after it was placed in the royal treasury, for cunning schemes to acquire many ducados with this wealth.¹² The first scheme,

¹⁰ Within less than six months the usurper drew from the royal treasury 8,000 pesos as salary, and 9,000 in gold ingots from Salcedo's sequestered property. (Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, p. 612.)

¹¹ "It is also suspected that, with the information and account that the father commissary will send to the tribunal of Mexico, they will seize there the great wealth which the said governor had during late years sent to his correspondents, which, according to common report, exceeds 200,000 pesos; and this consignment of funds entirely refutes the suspicion that the said governor might intend or attempt to flee to Holland by way of Batavia, as the father commissary and his accomplices in the governor's imprisonment have tried (although without reason) to induce people to believe, [as a pretext] for his arrest." (Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, pp. 586, 587.)

¹² The royal officials of that time are accused of plundering and defrauding the royal treasury – especially the treasurer, José Manuel de la Vega, who drew from it 40,000 pesos, which he used in trading at Batavia, making no return to the treasury – and altering entries in the books, to cover their steps. These acts, however, were notorious to the public, and the auditors and fiscal

which was adroitly planned by the usurper's confidant General Figueroa, was that all the gold which had been seized should be sold – alleging the pretext that if it were kept for a later time it would depreciate in value, and his Majesty would incur great loss; for at this time, as the foreign ships were here which came to procure gold, it had [a greater] value. Without any one's understanding the matter, all the gold whether wrought or not was sold at auction to the said General Figueroa at the rate of fourteen pesos a tael (which is a weight of ten silver reals) for the wrought gold, and thirteen pesos a tael for the unwrought; but he had previously bargained with the foreigners to take all the gold, at seventeen pesos a tael for the wrought and fifteen for the unwrought. [This was done] so that the usurper might divide up the surplus with a profit of more than 14,000 pesos, the proceeds on the quantity of six thousand taels (counting wrought and unwrought) which was placed in the royal treasury. As I remonstrated that this baseness had been committed against God and the king, they were fearful and reopened the auction on the following day, saying that the usurper was unwilling that all the gold should be sold to one man only – as if it would be difficult for craft to arrange that the gold should be divided up among ten or twenty persons, all tending toward the same end, that of their selfishness and greed. Recognizing their object, I alleged that – granted that their intention is that all the gold should not be sold to one

attempted to secure redress; but the usurper Bonifaz (who aided the plundering officials) availed himself of legal quibbles and public calumnies against the auditors and fiscal to shut off proceedings by them. (Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, pp. 573-575, 591.)

citizen only, for which reason the sale of the preceding day was annulled – after I asked the price of the gold, I desired to obtain 1,000 taels of the unwrought gold, offering on the spot fourteen pesos a tael for the said gold, and saying that, if I were allowed to carry away all the unwrought gold at that price, I would take it. They showed surprise and were annoyed at me, but finally concluded the sale at the said price of fourteen pesos. Only some 1,400 [taels] were sold, leaving the rest for other auctions; and it was not certain, [to judge] by those that afterward were held, whether all the remainder of the gold was sold at the same price of fourteen pesos; for some lots were knocked down at thirteen pesos.

For these and other evil acts Fortune supplied the usurper, for a notary with the man who has the worst reputation and most malicious designs of any in these islands, named Tomas de Palenzuela y Zurbaran, who is well known to everyone. The usurper prepares his documents and despatches with this man only, in whom he has great confidence and by whom due form is given to his unjust and illegal acts. Further, the fiscal of his Majesty has demanded by repeated letters, that [the gold] be not sold; but he has never answered these or numberless other letters which the said fiscal has written regarding the imprisonment of Don Francisco de Mansilla, and on various other matters which he has demanded (as he is continually doing). And as the fiscal was ill, the usurper appointed Licentiate Antonio Quijano, an advocate in this royal Audiencia, that he might be present, as he has been on behalf of the fiscal, at the auction sales which have been made of the goods of Don Diego.

The religious orders persisted in asking for the release of the auditor Don Francisco de Mansilla, as also did many influential persons; but they did not succeed. They caused the usurper, however, much sorrow at seeing that the auditor had so much popularity, while his own tyrannical disposition desired that all the citizens should countenance his iniquitous conduct in the unjust imprisonment of the auditor – which his own fears had accomplished, since the session of the royal Audiencia could not be held without Señor Mansilla; for no one was left except Señor Coloma, and he could not constitute the Audiencia alone and without another auditor. It is clear that his ambition craved adulation of his evil act, for tyranny always experiences profound fears and suspicions, which conscience stimulates.

To palliate his wicked conduct toward the innocence of Señor Mansilla, he schemed to bring suit against him for trafficking in barter and merchandise – although the poor gentleman never intended or even imagined engaging in that pursuit – bringing forward witnesses according to his own liking. Among those who were sworn was one who was the most malicious intimate of General Don Francisco de Figueroa; and he testified before the above-mentioned notary, Tomas de Palenzuela y Zurbaran, the declared enemy of the imprisoned auditor. It was a divine Providence that Señor Mansilla was not accused of an infamous crime, for that would have gone through very easily.

The usurper became tired of the said letters from the fiscal of his Majesty, who, sick as he was and is, in order not to fail in the obligations of his office, was continually at work at the evident risk of his

health in requiring the information that was due him – although without any result; for, as I said, they now did not answer his letters, and their only care was to find some way of exiling him, declaring that he was a disturber of the peace. Indeed, I think that no long time will elapse without his being suspended from the exercise of the office that was conferred upon him by his Majesty; and the cause of that will be [the usurper's] wicked intentions.

The tyrant knew well that among so many there could not fail to be some loyal hearts who, as they could not for lack of power check his insolent acts, did not openly express their desire to avail themselves of whatever opportunity time might present to distinguish themselves in the service of both Majesties; and even if they could not do so with deeds, at least they would write to his Majesty giving him an account of all that had happened, so that the prompt remedy that so difficult affairs as these require might be applied, and the islands not be exposed to destruction. Although these islands are in the view of so many nations, nothing of what I have related leaked out, so deep was his mistrust; for he took precautions by detaining here the ships from all the neighboring kingdoms without permitting one of them to depart until the middle of January – at which time no one could reach the English and Dutch ships, which sail every year from Batavia and Ba[n]tan for Europa in the middle of December – in order to hold this government for a longer time (of which we who are loyal desire [to give] information) instructed by his confidant, the traitor General Figueroa. The losses and expenses which he caused to the ambassadors of kings, the owners of

private ships, by this detention cannot be estimated; nor can I relate the complaints which all uttered regarding this unexpected action.

For the greater suffering and punishment of the community, the demon kept the usurper so blind that he concluded that he could with money perpetuate himself in the government. Accordingly he opened the door for greed by means of his chaplain, who is an outcast Carmelite from Mexico. This man, on account of serious disturbances which he caused in his province and the murder of their provincial by some of his associates, with another man of his faction was, with them, banished to these regions, their sacred habits being taken from them. As soon as this man arrived at these islands, the tyrant, who was then an auditor, sheltered him in his house; his name is Don Gabriel Coronel; and the agreements in lawsuits and the gifts of all the traders are settled with him.

[Complaint was made by] the ambassador of the king of Siam and his factor – who came to take care of the goods which he carried on account of his king, in order to dispose of them profitably in this city – and another Moro, a citizen of the said kingdom, named Juan Guaroni, who came with the ambassador as administrator of the property which the ruler of the said kingdom had surrendered to Don Diego de Salcedo. It was demanded from him for purchase, [and comprised] thirty-two cates and nine onzas of musk; thirty-two onzas of ambergris; ten bezoar stones, and one of porcupine; six pieces of *sarasa*; ¹⁸ six [word omitted?] of cocoanuts; and eight

¹⁸ The name *sarasa* is applied by Blanco to a shrub, *Justicia ecbolium*, also called *morado*; he does not mention it as of use

pieces of chintz – altogether worth 3,500 pesos, for which they had not been paid. For, a few days before the imprisonment of Don Diego, these goods had been handed over, and the contract had not even been solemnized; and then, as the said arrest occurred, they proceeded to the presence of the commissary of the Holy Office asking that the said goods be returned to them or else that they receive satisfaction for their just value. He commanded that a copy [of this demand] be given to the party [concerned], who immediately acknowledged the entire amount; besides, they proved by a great number of sworn witnesses that the said goods had been handed over to Don Diego, and no payment had been made for them. The affair being so thoroughly verified – as will appear by the said acts, to which I refer – the said commissary refused to give any orders until the ambassador and the others understood the road [to be taken] and availed themselves of the expelled Carmelite, the usurper's chaplain; and an agreement was reached with him, and they purchased justice for seven hundred pesos – five hundred pesos for the usurper, and the remaining two hundred for his intimate friend, the commissary of the Holy Office. They handed over the silver by the hands of the said Don Juan Guaroni, the said ambassador and all being scandalized at seeing persons of so high position committing so shameless acts – especially the in medicine, although he ascribes such properties to other species of the same genus. The *Official Handbook of the Philippines* (Manila, 1903), pp. 395, 399, says that *sarasa* is the Tagalog appellation of the Visayan *pasao* (*Graptophyllum hortense*); its leaves are used “in topicals for the maintenance of fonticulus [a small artificial ulcer].” If this be intended in the text, *piezas* may be translated “packages;” but *sarasas* (evidently some product of Siam) here may have some other meaning.

commissary. As a proof of his lack of sense, he went out one day through the public streets with his badge exposed, hanging from a bunch of little gold chains; and during a period of more than two months continuously all the officials of the holy tribunal went about wearing their badges displayed, to the offense and general dread of all the people. As for the condition in which these islands are, I leave it to the most moderate person to consider [what it must be] when they are governed by an usurper – [and that] through his chaplain, a man expelled from a religious order so austere as is that of the Carmelites of the City of Mexico; he is also a friend of Father Paternina, a revengeful man, who for his own private purposes accused, by writing, before his provincial a religious of his own province named Fray Cristobal de Leon, a native of Monforte de Lemos. [This Fray Cristobal] had attained in his order all the most honorable positions save that of provincial; [but Father Paternina accused him] of practicing usury and being a Jew, [pursuing him] with such persistency and hatred that he did not halt until he had caused Fray Cristobal's death by a rigorous imprisonment. For this religious, in view of the unjust treatment inflicted on him, taxed the said commissary with being disqualified for being his own relator,¹⁴ since he had been a galley-slave sentenced by the general of his order at the convent of Burgos. Witnesses were brought forward, men who had served on that very galley – in particular, a religious named Fray Diego Gutierrez, a son of the convent of

¹⁴ Apparently referring to the technical use of this word (VOL. XI, p. 43), the legal office of relator being transferred to the ecclesiastical court.

San Felipe el Real at Madrid, who related the affair with abundant proofs and affirmed that it was true; indeed, I had several times before heard it from witnesses worthy of confidence.

The tyrant remained in constant mistrust at seeing that although he held the auditor Don Francisco de Montemayor a prisoner in the castle at the port of Cavite, he was distant not more than three leguas from this city, and that he might make his escape some night and cross the bay in some little vessel and come to join Señor Coloma; then they could form a quorum of the Audiencia and punish the lawless acts that he had committed. In order to prevent such a suspected emergency, he determined to exile the auditor¹⁵ to the province of Oton, or to some other at a distance of more than 200 leguas from this city; and this was done, the blow being inflicted on December 30 of the past year 1668 (the tyrant adopting the nefarious scheme of his notary, Tomas de Palenzuela y Zurbaran) with a party of paid soldiers without the poor devil knowing where his voyage ended. For this purpose, the notary carried to the castellan of the said port of Cavite¹⁶ (a confidant of the usurper) an order that he should, as soon as he had received it, command his sargento-mayor, Captain Juan Gomez de Paiba, to go with a sufficient number of soldiers and the notary to take away from the fort the auditor Don Francisco de Mansilla and place

¹⁵ Mansilla's release was ordered by Coloma; and on Christmas eve the superiors of the religious orders and the dean of the cathedral went to demand it from Bonifaz. This excited the tyrant's fears, and he determined to banish the imprisoned auditor. (Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, pp. 601, 602.)

¹⁶ The above-cited document in Ventura del Arco MSS. states (p. 601) that this post was held by Francisco de Figueroa.

him aboard the champan which was already prepared for this voyage. When they undertook to execute the said order against the person of the said auditor, the latter notified the sargento-mayor not only once but several times to be careful what he did, since a mere sargento-mayor was not the person to arrest a councilor of his Majesty; that this matter belonged to no inferior official, and that he would not go without an order from the royal court. He declared that if his person were treated with disrespect, he would regard the officer as a traitor to the king; and as the civil governor (which he is) he ordered him to summon the castellan, for he already imagined evil to himself. The sargento-mayor went out, and came back with the same order—adding that if the auditor refused to go on board willingly they would place him in the ship by force. They had stubborn controversies; then the father vicar of St. Dominic at the said port came up and advised the auditor what was best for him at the present time, regarding which they did not agree. Finally the sargento-mayor ordered, since his castellan had thus commanded, that four soldiers, the strongest in his detachment, should attack the auditor. The latter defended himself for a long time with a small staff that he had in his hand, declaring and protesting that any man who should dare to injure his person was a traitor to the king; but finally he gave up exhausted, and they carried him aboard the champan—which immediately set sail without giving him opportunity to take with him anything, whether clothing or comforts, for his personal use. All this occurred at nine o'clock at night on the said day, December 30—the poor gentleman leaving his house

and his family of marriageable daughters unprotected, in unending affliction and tears, without knowing to what place their father had been banished.¹⁷

The usurper made strenuous efforts to learn who had consented to his having, by securing the command and authority, trampled on the obedience that was due and which he ought to give to the commands of the royal court; and, as he succeeded in learning that I was one of those who most keenly resented his acts—with some other gentlemen, although not many—and that I had rendered obedience to the royal decree which the auditors had sent me and had very carefully observed it while they were in power, he conceived a special hatred against those who were of my opinion. This was particularly directed against me on account of my not having displayed and showed to him the royal decree, which, as I say, I hold; another reason was, because I had said as I now say, that the commissary of the Holy Office could not carry out the arrest of Don Diego without consulting the supreme authority—except in a case where he feared the flight [of the accused]. And even if any governor intended to act thus, the [interference of the] Holy Office was not necessary, since the royal Audiencia was more than sufficient to secure his person. But I do not say that the father commissary may not have sufficient authority to

¹⁷ Mansilla was shipwrecked near Verde Island (between Luzón and Mindoro), to which he escaped in a half-dead condition; on January 27 news of this was received at Manila, and champans were immediately sent to convey him to Iloilo, where he was kept in prison under guards. He managed to escape from this durasce a few months later, and found refuge in a Jesuit church there. (Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, pp. 602, 603, 613.)

make, as he did, the said arrest. For this reason, and because I am a loyal vassal of his Majesty, with a few other gentlemen toward whom the usurper felt no good-will, he [treated us as he did] without further cause than the deposition of a captain named Don Juan Manuel de Corcuera. This man declared that his comrade, Captain Don Luis de Matienzo, had told him that Don Diego had sent to a lady a list containing the names of those who were loyal, in order that they might release him from the rigorous imprisonment in which he was and is,¹⁸ and replace him in his command and government. He said that the said Captain Luis disclosed it to him, and showed the said list to General Don Fernando de Bobadilla, charging him to make me acquainted with it, in order to make arrangements for setting his Lordship at liberty. The usurper found [in this a] means for his vengeance, and accordingly gave immediate information to the father commissary, his intimate friend – who on December 13 of the past year 68, about eight o'clock at night, ordered that all of us concerned therein or on the [above] list should be arrested.¹⁹ This order was executed during the day-break watch, and we were placed in this fortress of Santiago – General Fernando de Bobadilla, a well-

¹⁸ The commissary was accused of ill-treating Salcedo while in prison – even going so far as to refuse him permission to draw up a will, to confess, and to receive the sacraments, although Salcedo was very ill, and his physician reported that he was in danger of death; and during at least a part of his imprisonment he was kept in fetters, and fastened to a chain. (Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, p. 590.)

¹⁹ On St. Lucia's day, December 13, the usurper and the commissary of the Inquisition arrested more than twenty persons of high standing, who had disapproved of his illegal acts and had adhered to the Audiencia. These men were fettered and placed

known gentleman of Sevilla; Sargento-mayor Don Nicolas Sarmiento y Paredes; and myself. In other dungeons, in the guard-house, they confined Admiral Juan de Ytamarrin; the captain of cuirassiers, Don Antonio Lopez de Quirós (who was in Flandes); and Captain Don Luis de Matienzo, a dependant of his Lordship. The strictest orders were given [to our guards] on penalty of death, that no one could see us or speak to us, and besides, to keep us all in strongly-riveted fetters, and in dark and close dungeons.

As all men went about in fear and amazement at what they had seen, the infliction of harsh treatment and imprisonment on the said Don Francisco de Montemayor without his prerogatives as councilor of his Majesty and one of the civil governors availing him, it was not necessary to know more than that the usurper sent to summon any man at an unreasonable hour of night in order to have him promptly taken within the church [*i.e.*, for sanctuary]. Accordingly as soldiers went on the night I have mentioned asking for General Don Diego Cortes and his Majesty's factor, Sargento-mayor Juan de Verastian, those persons knew that they were under suspicion, and were smuggled into the convent of San Nicolas in this city belonging to the discalced Augustinians; the convent was immediately searched. He secured that the church was of no avail to them, since those persons were also pro-

in dungeons, and their goods confiscated. They were proclaimed as traitors, and their relatives and friends were regarded as suspects. Many other arrests and acts of oppression were prevented by Coloma's interference. (Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, pp. 594-600.)

scribed [*i.e.*, by the Inquisition]; however, the soldiers did not come across them.

The prisoners spent one week thus confined and harshly treated, and at the end of that time they conveyed us all closely guarded and [exposed] to public shame to the tyrant's palace – which was full of people, who came to see what had never before been seen – men of rank and station conveyed in such guise and with so great clamor. The guards proceeded through the halls passing us from one to another until we reached the next to the last – where sat the usurper with Licentiate Manuel Suarez de Olivera, whom he appointed as associate judge, and who was receiving the confessions of all. Without any blame resulting [to us from these] and without giving us a copy of the charges, they notified us of our banishment and stated that this was done at the request of the father commissary of the Holy Office, for the greater security of the custody and person of Señor Diego de Salcedo. Immediately they sent on ship-board General Don Fernando de Bobadilla and Sargento-mayor Don Antonio Lopez de Quirós; and as I replied that they must give me time in which to settle the accounts of his Majesty's royal income, since I had just been exercising the office of alcalde-mayor of Tondo, they granted me only ten days.

As for the cause of our imprisonment, he said that it was because we had intended to rescue Don Diego and kill the usurper and the master-of-camp. I was not ignorant that the usurper had no authority to try my cause – even though he were the legitimate military governor, and I had committed a crime – since I did not hold a military post. It was the civil governor who should try this cause, all the more if the

crime is that of taking human life; moreover, [the usurper] introduces himself as judge of his own cause. Much less [should he try the cause] if the crime [alleged] belongs to the Holy Office, since it has exclusive jurisdiction – not to mention other arguments, which I here omit. The other [prisoners] fearful of irritating further a man who is riding so with loose reins – so violating the laws, both human and divine, following only that of *Sic volo, sic jubeo*,²⁰ etc. – but protesting that they would oppose him when a suitable opportunity arose –.²¹ I would write numberless other things here, if my condition would permit me the opportunity; but this I have not, since even to write these lines it was necessary – since I remain in this rigorous imprisonment, surrounded by guards who watch the steps that I take and the words that I speak – to write by snatches with the utmost caution and care that the guards should not notice what I was doing on account of the evident danger to which I shall expose myself if the usurper knows it; and when I finished a sheet I sent it immediately to the college of the Society of Jesus. I ought to be pardoned, therefore, for the blots on my manuscript, and other defects, since I had to keep my attention on the door, lest the guard should enter and catch me at this.

It is no wonder that hostile tongues condemn the father commissary, Fray Jose Paternina, as having acted with passion in the imprisonment of his Lordship, for various reasons. First: his Lordship, before coming to these islands, while he was in the City

²⁰ *i.e.*, "Thus I will, thus I command."

²¹ Apparently a sentence left incomplete by the writer after some interruption of his task.

of Mexico had carnal intercourse with a woman who was a relative of the said commissary. The latter came to know this, and declared himself the mortal enemy of his Lordship; and thus arose and began, while they were on the voyage to these islands, a strong aversion, which was kept up during the voyage, and was public and notorious. After arriving at this city they were on very bad terms; and besides, the commissary is ambitious, greedy, and not of exemplary life. Moreover, he is very revengeful, keeping the city stirred up with the word "Inquisition," and summoning [before it] men for matters of little importance – to the scandal of the community and the discredit of those thus summoned, for no one knows for what purpose they are arrested; this is keenly felt among our countrymen, since we boast of being [good] Catholics, as we are.

Another reason: He was greatly displeased at seeing that the profitable position of *alcalde* was not given to his nephew Don Gonzalo Samaniego (whom he loved and valued highly) nor even to his own Paternity a priorate to his liking; indeed, his provincial, Fray Alonso Guijano kept him in the convent on account of recognizing his evil disposition, and as Fray Jose did not know the language; besides, the provincial had other religious of long standing and ability with whom to fill the priorates. The commissary attributed this to the dissensions which he had had with his Lordship in Nueva España and on the voyage; and fancied that it was Don Diego who had arranged the matter with his provincial, as those two were friends. There is proof of this [my] statement; for as soon as he secured the imprisonment of Don Diego, the first and

most important office that was filled was given to his nephew, conferring on him first the rank of sargento-mayor of the armada of Oton. For himself, he made arrangements with the usurper to receive his strong recommendation to the priorate of the convent in this city, which was immediately given to him by the provincial. Finally, it is he who rules the usurper; for there is a mutual understanding between them on account of what they could make known regarding the great amount that is lacking and does not appear in the wealth which was seized from his Lordship — coin, ingots, and [wrought] articles of gold, and diamonds. And he [*i.e.*, the commissary] is at present rich and honored, respected and feared, succeeding with whatever he wishes, pleases, and purposes.

As I have not time for more, I will set down the names of those who had most to do with the imprisonment of the governor, Don Diego de Salcedo; they are the following:

First, the master-of-camp of this royal regiment, Don Agustin de Zepeda, who as master-of-camp maintained the guard with a company of Spanish infantry, who was and is on duty, as is customary, in the palace.

The two *alcaldes-in-ordinary*, General Sebastian Rayo Doria and Captain Don Nicolas de Pamplona. The latter seized his Lordship by the arm while he was sleeping, which caused him to awake and sit up in his bed; and Don Nicolas held him so tightly that his Lordship feeling the pain told him that he must not hurt him like that. The other replied arrogantly that Don Diego had oppressed all the people, and that they had had enough of him; and his brother, a religious of St. Francis, Fray Geronimo de Pam-

plona, allowed himself to say to his Lordship, "Let us have no arguments." His Lordship replied to this that he must be more civil; and that even if the holy tribunal arrested him he would not allow any one to treat him with insolence, because he represented the royal person.²²

The sargento-mayor Juan Jirado, or Tirado; they say that he held a dagger at the breast [of Don Diego], and as a reward they elected him this year alcalde-in-ordinary.

The unemployed captains Don Gonzalo Samaniego (nephew of the commissary) and Don Juan de Vargas, whom they made admiral and gave him the office of Tayabas; he is my brother-in-law.

Captain Don Juan de Robles Cortes; he only remained with the commissary, who asked that Don Juan should not leave his side; they afterward made him admiral of the caracoas, and he was chosen this year alcalde-in-ordinary.

Captain Diego de Palencia, my brother-in-law, as alguazil-mayor of the Holy Office, placed the fetters on Don Diego.

Captains Don Luis de Morales and Grabiell de la Jara; they went with six other men and seized the halberds; and when the halberdiers tried to get their weapons, these men had already gained possession of them all. Others remained at various stations in the palace.

The provincial of St. Francis, Fray Francisco Solier, with the guardian of that order, Fray Mateo de la Anunciacion, who went with a naked sword;

²² Not only Pamplona, but Palencia and several others who entered the governor's room used insulting and opprobrious language to him, and even ill-treated him. (Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, p. 531.)

and sixteen other religious of St. Francis. All of them carrying arms entered the apartment; and the two first named were the ones who made the most noise.

Those who countenanced the usurper Don Juan Manuel when he failed in the obedience which he ought to render to the royal Audiencia when that court summoned him are the following:

In the first place, the commissary, Fray Jose de Paternina.²⁸

The provincial of St. Francis, [Francisco] Solier, and the guardian, the aforesaid Fray Mateo; they never left his side or the palace, for which reason the government was taken by force.

General Don Francisco de Figueroa who, as his confidant, and being so subtle, has counseled whatever the usurper has done. He went to the house of the Society and treacherously professed obedience to the royal Audiencia; then by craft, under the pretext of subduing the usurper, he gained permission to leave the house and returned to the palace, where he gave information of what he had seen, in every way acting [as one] without God and without king. Then followed in his very steps the notary Tomas de Palenzuela y Zurbaran – a man who is liable to commit any wickedness whatever on account of his evil nature and ambition.

²⁸ The Order of St. Augustine, to which the commissary belonged, laid claim to more than 100,000 pesos, which they said was due them from Salcedo; if they gave him that money, it was that he might overlook their lawless acts, and give them what they desired. Those friars availed themselves of Salcedo whenever they chose to disobey their provincials and other superiors; and in their chapter-meetings their proceedings were controlled by his wishes and commands. (Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, pp. 584, 585.)

The alcalde Don Nicolas de Pamplona, who, being in the house of the Society and having with the city [officials] in a body rendered obedience to the king our sovereign, as represented in his royal Audiencia, carried away with his own shallow mind and great ambition, left the house with the false assertion that he would return, and presented himself before the usurper, rendering obedience to him; this man they made commander of the armada.

The commander of the artillery, Francisco Garcia del Fresno, for with him and the following that he had, he authorized and encouraged and was joined with the crafty Don Francisco de Figueroa. These two terrorized the wife of the auditor Don Francisco de Coloma, so that she should draw away her husband within three hours, fearing lest he should risk his life with the other auditors – who were maintaining the organization and existence of the Audiencia in the library of the Society of Jesus – because they were going to demolish that house with cannon-shots. The good lady went out in much fear and proceeded to the house of the Society; and from her visit followed the departure of her husband [from the house], and the organization of the Audiencia was broken up.

All the military officials, except the master-of-camp, whom the auditors already held, and the sargento-mayor of this royal regiment, Don Nicolas Sarmiento y Paredes, who obeyed the mandate of the auditors. The usurper, angry at this, conferred that command on Sargento-mayor Diego de Morales, who is still serving therein.

The licentiates Juan de Rosales and Don Eugenio Gutierrez de Mendoza; they were the two judges

appointed by the usurper to decide the question of the seniority claimed by each of the two auditors, Don Francisco de Coloma and Don Francisco de Montemayor y Mansilla; and, having obtained the opinions of these judges, the usurper adjudged the authority to himself.

All these were the men who were most active on account of their being the most influential persons – not to mention many others of less rank; or the people who sinned through ignorance and not through evil intention, for they knew not whom they ought to obey. As they heard repeated proclamations of treason to the king, who was at the Society's house, [with command that] they should not go to the palace, they all took the path of obedience, as loyal vassals of his Majesty – as they would have done without any doubt if the usurper had given opportunity to the royal Audiencia so that the auditors could command that a proclamation be published. But as for those in authority, on account of their rank and station, who received the royal decree and failed to obey it, and others who carried it to show to the usurper, I do not say of such that they are free from blame.

I set down the names of all those who were present in both encounters with full particulars, and without being moved by prejudice; and I name my two brothers-in-law, so that no inquisitive person may accuse me of being prejudiced. Many other names I do not place here, since the rest are persons of less importance.

[*Note, apparently by Ventura del Arco:* "The letter concludes with an account of his services – as sargento-mayor of the royal camp, purveyor-general of Pintados, deputy of the captain-general in the

said provinces, and captain-general of the artillery. He was an encomendero; and he must have written this in the fortress of Santiago, on January 15, 1669 (which is its date)."]

THE DOMINICANS IN THE PHILIPPINES, 1641-69

[Translations and synopses have been made from Santa Cruz's *Historia*, in VOL. XXXV. Such translations and synopses are here continued, the design being principally to show the religious history of the Dominicans so far as it touches the Philippines. Chapter x contains an account of the establishment of the college of San Juan de Letran, a subject which will receive adequate notice in due time, and hence omitted here. Chapter xi treats of Chinese affairs. Chapters xii and xiii relate to the life of father Fray Baltasar Fort, the sixth provincial of the Dominicans in Manila (see VOL. XVII, p. 93, note 18).]

CHAPTER XIV

Of the election of provincial in the person of the father commissary Fray Francisco de Paula; and of religious worthy of note who died during that time.

Father Fray Carlos Clemente Gant having completed his term of office with great glory, a chapter was held in the convent of our father Santo Domingo in Manila. On the twentieth of April, 1641, the reverend father Fray Francisco de Paula, commis-

sary of the Holy Office, preacher-general, then lecturer in morning classes in our college of Santo Tomas, vicar-provincial of this district of Manila – a son of the noted convent of San Estevan of Salamanca, and native of Segovia, of noble parentage – whose superior talents will be told in due time, was elected provincial with much satisfaction. There was a great lack of religious in the province, for no mission had come for six years, except that brought by father Fray Diego Collado. Although some of those religious were incorporated with the order, still many of them were dissatisfied. In short, so long as the province does not have a number of religious in excess of the actual number of ministries, it is a great anxiety and a cause of sorrow for our souls that there is no supply in cases of sickness and government, and the burdens of many are laid upon few. Further, all this gives the devil a gleam of hope that is important to him, and most harmful to the common welfare; and occasion is given for the ministers to be sold very dear, and a very high value is placed on their abilities and knowledge of languages. Therefore, a regiment of religious, which would be too much, is never more than enough; for in this beautiful Judith, the garments that apparently drag one down are the most necessary. The most efficacious means, and in fact the only one that ought to be used in such straits, was the one which the father provincial-elect immediately put into effect; namely, to have recourse to our Lord and the intercession of the saints, laying most stress on his efforts with our father St. Dominic, who is the key-stone of all this edifice, in whose name are held firm these religious stones. A novena of solemn masses

was immediately begun to the saint at his altar of Soriano. The first one was chanted by the father provincial, and he also despatched patents throughout the province ordering the same supplications to be made in the convents for the said reason, and for the field of Christendom in Japon – which was then in its death throes, our religious having been killed and exiled, and only a scattering of priests of other orders being left there. The miraculous result of those prayers in regard to the coming of our religious will be told later.

[That chapter framed a memorial on the death of father Fray Diego Quero, who died in the Dominican convent at Manila. He took the habit at the island Española [*i.e.*, San Domingo] and lived a life of great austerity and poverty. Being of an advanced age when he went to the Philippines, he was employed as master of novices, and afterward as a minister. Other religious who have yielded up their lives in the mission work are the following: Lorenzo Alduayen of the province of Aragon, son of the convent of San Pedro Martir at Calatayud (Spain), who labored in the province of Cagayan, where he was greatly beloved. Juan del Moral, son of the convent of San Pablo in Cordova, native of La Rambla, who died at the Manila convent in 1642, where he had been master of novitiates. Geronimo de Belem, who died March 31, 1642, was a native of Beya, Portugal, and had fled to the Indias on account of a murder which he committed in his youth, taking the habit in the Mexican convent of the Augustinians because the Dominicans refused him. However, he was soon dismissed or left that order, and shortly after was given the Dominican habit in La Puebla de los

Angeles; and on reaching the Philippines became a laborer in Bataan. He held several important positions in the order, being vicar-provincial, twice definitor, and minister in the province of Tagalos for many years. He was sent on an evangelical mission to Camboja, and after various other employments met his death by accident in an Augustinian convent in Pampanga, to which province he had been sent to adjust some repartimientos that had been imposed on the natives. Manuel de Berrio was a native of the town of Santa Maria el Real of Nieva, and son of the convent of Santa Cruz el Real at Segovia. He accompanied Diego Collado in his mission when still a young man, but deserted that body immediately upon his arrival. He was sent to Nueva Segovia in Cagayan, where he was well known for his virtue. He was vicar of Fitol at the time of his death. Chapter xv treats of certain troubles in 1642 growing out of the late Chinese insurrection. The governor had ordered the new Parián to be built on the other side of the river northeast of Manila in a barrio of the village of Binondo, between the sea and an estuary called La Estacada by the Spaniards, and Bayuay (or Baybay) by the natives.²⁴ Although it

²⁴ The burning of the Parián in the insurrection of 1630-40 rendered it necessary to build a new one; this was placed at La Estacada (so called because the site was stockaded for this purpose), farther from the gates of Manila, but within range of the guns of Fort Santiago. Notwithstanding the inconveniences attendant on this measure, and the risk of demoralizing the Indian converts, the government refused to locate the Chinese elsewhere; but they remained there only two years. One night when they were worshipping their ancestors, a house accidentally caught fire; as a result the entire Parián was burned, with great quantities of goods belonging to the citizens of Manila, who had placed these there on sale. A great part of Binondo was also destroyed by this fire. (Diaz's *Conquistas*, pp. 456, 457.)

occasioned grave disadvantages to the city, as the people would be inconvenienced in going thither to supply their needs, and the natives would be in danger with so many infidels near by, the change was ordered; but in 1642 the Parián was accidentally destroyed by fire, with great wealth belonging to the Spaniards, and a large part of Binondo. This chapter recounts also the loss of the island Hermosa, which has been fully treated elsewhere.]

CHAPTER XVI

A shipload of religious reaches the province; and notices of events in China are given

After the fearful round of so many calamities, our Lord hastened to open the treasury of His mercies by bringing to this province a band of chosen religious in the year 43. Although they were not many, yet they were all of estimable qualities; and they have greatly honored this province as well as all the order. The circumstance of the time of their arrival made that mission all the more precious; for it was not thought that the province of the king our sovereign, Felipe Fourth the Great, would fathom our necessity at a time when the wars with Portugal and Cataluña kept him much embarrassed, and his royal treasury empty. But God, who moves the hearts of princes, places in their hearts those works of charity, in order to render eternal the grandeur of their monarchies. David's zeal and reverence to God conquered more for him than did the sword; while the sword served Roboan [*i.e.*, Rehoboam], who had neither zeal nor reverence for God, rather for embarrassment, and ten kingdoms in ten provinces fell away from his crown at the first movement.

[Certain pious reflections follow. Continuing, Santa Cruz says:]

That mission was arranged in España by father Fray Francisco Carrero, procurator for this province. He conducted it to Mexico, where, reënforced by valiant and suitable men who arrived there, he committed it to father Fray Joseph de la Madre de Dios; for the said father procurator could not come here, and hence left them where they embarked at Acapulco. The mail-packet and letters of the ship arrived on the ninth of July; and on the twenty-first, eve of the glorious Magdalena, our patroness, the said mission entered Manila. The religious included in it were as follows: the father vicar, Fray Joseph de la Madre de Dios (*alias* de la Vega), a native of Rioseco, and son of [the convent of] San Pablo at Burgos; father Fray Pedro de la Fuente, lecturer on the arts in the province of España, son of the same convent, fellow of San Gregorio, and native of the bishopric of Logroño; father Fray Francisco de Molina, son of [the convent of] Santo Tomas at Madrid, and native of the same city; father Fray Juan Pabon, son of our convent at Truxillo, and native of Montanches; father Fray Bernardo Lopez, son of [the convent of] San Pedro Martir el Real at Toledo, and native of a town near the said city; father Fray Juan Lopez, native of the town of Martin Muñoz de las Possadas, son of [the convent of] San Estevan at Salamanca, who afterward became the most illustrious bishop of Nombre de Jesus [*i.e.*, Cebú] whence he ascended to the archbishopric of Manila, and of whom we shall treat in due time; father Fray Domingo del Castillo, son of [the convent of] San Pablo at Valladolid, and native of the

mountain region of Burgos; father Fray Geronimo de Sotomayor, son of [the convent at] Mexico, lecturer in morning classes in the college of Porta-Celi, and native of the said city; father Fray Juan Cuenca, son of [the convent of] La Puebla de los Angeles (where he lectured on theology), and native of the same city; father Fray Antonio de Velasco, son of the convent of Mexico, and native of the same city; father Fray Juan Marquez, of the same convent and city; father Fray Diego de Figueroa, son of [the convent of] Santo Domingo at Mexico, and native of the same city; father Fray Felipe Muñoz, native of Mexico, and son of our convent of Santo Domingo in the same city; brother Fray Antonio Sanchez, an acolyte, son of the convent of Santo Domingo of La Puebla, and native of the same city; brother Fray Jacinto Altamirano, a lay-brother, son of [the convent of] Santo Domingo at La Puebla, and native of that town. From the province of Andalucia came only father Fray Raymundo del Valle, son of Ronda, from our convent of San Pedro Martir. It is not known here where he was born, for he was soon sent to the province of China, where he is at present. We shall discuss him later. In that mission came also a boy named Sebastian Galvan, a brother of Archbishop Don Fray Juan Lopez, who took the habit on arriving at a proper age.

An intermediary chapter had been held on April 25 of that year 43. Our Lord, beholding this his province so sad, was pleased in His charity to visit it by sending the said mission as well as the other small mission that came by way of Macasar. Allowing for their misfortune, it proved a great consolation to see our so beloved brothers come safely

through the storm, although they came swimming and naked; for immediately they honored us greatly in the employment in which obedience placed them.

[The remainder of the chapter concerns Chinese affairs.]

CHAPTER XVII

A new governor comes to these islands. Events in the province; and life and death of the father commissary, Fray Francisco de Herrera.

In the year 1644 Don Diego Faxardo, a valiant and noble knight of the Habit of Santiago, ex-master-of-camp in Europa, and governor of the Terceras, came with appointment as governor and captain-general of these islands. He made his solemn entrance into Manila and assumed his government on the day of St. Lawrence in that said year. He was more than sixty years old, so that with his grave aspect and disposition, and what is greater, his reputation, this city promised itself a very favorable government. But in the course of nine years it tasted all sorts of government. In regard to his character, Don Diego furnished a good example; he was very disinterested, and died poor. In regard to other things, the troubles of the times made him unfortunate. At first he began to rule vigorously, but afterward developed an unusual fondness for retirement, and was always very inflexible—which truly causes extreme hatred in these regions; for in a presidio like this, where most of the people live, although in their own land, yet under a foreign sky, and bearing the grievous weight of an exile so remote [from their native country], the pleasure of superiors comes to be

considered much less, and it is resented more than is possible in other regions. Everything should be ruled with moderation. That gentleman was an upright man and one of great impartiality, but he began to rule with the reputation of a peevish and reserved man; and, even though he performed miracles afterward, he could not cleanse himself from that reputation. Or perhaps it was because he went to extremes in the residencia of his predecessor, which he performed so rigorously that he kept him in the fort in prison for five years, until he received an order from the Council to send him a prisoner to Madrid.²⁵ In regard to the ecclesiastical estate he carried himself to the acceptance of all, and with a Christian heart; we in our province found him very pious, and he was very urgent in sending religious to China and other kingdoms, and aided greatly in the consolation of our ministries. We presented to him a royal decree which we had obtained from his Majesty, ordering the demolition of a college founded by his predecessor and styled "royal."²⁶ Having been very clearly informed of the great disadvantage [of that college], he duly observed the terms of the said royal decree and abolished the said college then and thenceforth. It had been erected without any necessity, and even not without casting dishonor on the two ancient seminaries of this city — one in charge of the

²⁵ Accounts of Corcuera's residencia may be found in Domingo F. de Navarrete's *Tratados historicos* (Madrid, 1676), trat. 6, ch. 4; Murillo Velarde's *Hist. de Philipinas*, fol. 136 b-138; la Concepción's *Hist. de Philipinas*, vi, pp. 188-195; Ferrando's *Hist. de los PP. Dominicos*, ii, pp. 450-453; and Montero y Vidal's *Hist. de Filipinas*, i, pp. 265-267.

²⁶ Referring to the institution founded by Corcuera, styled San Felipe, of which more detailed information will be given in a subsequent volume.

Society of Jesus, the college of San Joseph; and the other in charge of our order, the college of Santo Tomas. Those two colleges are quite sufficient for the small Spanish population here, and for those who apply themselves to the Church. To erect a similar college amounted, in good Romance, to shining without any expense, and to try to cause himself to be remembered as a founder, although it was all paid for out of the royal treasury. It was maintained by the aid that he wrung out of the poor soldiers, and we complained at that. But now that obstacle was removed by the said decree; and eleven thousand pesos were restored to the royal treasury, and both patron and patronage were effaced at once. The great earthquakes of Manila happened during the term of that gentleman, and the wars with the Dutch (all of which will be related). In all of them he showed sufficient proofs of his magnanimity, prudence, and zeal, and that he was a good commander; and although, as a man, he must have had his imperfections, and a favorite who destroyed much of the governor's credit with the too free hand given him – however, the governor in time learned to know the favorite, and threw him into prison – he always showed that he was good by his example and deeds, and, without presumption, his desire was to do right. God aided his good intention and brought him safely through it all.

On the ninth of August of that year died the father commissary Fray Francisco de Herrera, whose exemplary life could fill many chapters and even books; but we are in haste, and the substance will suffice. [He was born of honest parentage in a village of little report near La Peña de Francia, in the bishopric

of Salamanca; and professed in the convent of La Talavera in the ecclesiastical province of Spain. Later, he studied in the Valladolid convent of his order. He arrived at the Philippines in 1600, and immediately began to learn the Chinese language, and later learned also the Tagalog, becoming fluent in both languages. He served many times as prior of various convents; vicar of Batan, of Binondoc, and of the Parián; prior of Santo Domingo; vicar-provincial, and vicar-general, during the absence of the provincial; and commissary of the Holy Office. In 1629 he succeeded to the office of provincial. "In the office of provincial he exercised great zeal, and not less prudence; and as he was so capable and had been in the province so long, he knew all the religious of the province very well, and gave each one the employment that fitted his nature, which is truly the gift of governing." He was austere in his observance, and charitable to all, and visited the sick. He sent missionaries to China during his term. At the completion of his office he was elected rector of Santo Tomas college, which he held for two terms, being then elected prior of Manila. Lastly, he ministered in the hospital, where he died, being buried in the Manila convent.]

[Chapters xviii-xxi treat of China, and the wars with the Tartars.]

CHAPTER XXII

Events of those times; the election of provincial in this province, and the earthquakes at Manila.

[In 1644 Urban VIII died. He had been especially solicitous for the Chinese and Japanese missions. Santa Cruz continues:]

The following year, namely that of 645, the provincial chapter was held in the convent of Santo Domingo at Manila, in this province. In it was elected for the second time the reverend father commissary, Fray Domingo Gonzalez, a septuagenarian, whose resistance and the argument of his advanced age did not avail to let him escape the charge. Had he been content with acting moderately the first time, he would have avoided the agonies of the second term. But although he was a man so fearful of God and so prudent that he even fled from extremes and always aimed at the mean of virtue, yet in the part which subjects the government to the beginnings of charity, he was not contented, but must go to extremes and become too charitable. Consequently, since he was so charitable, that did not avail him to become exempt from the office of superior. He filled the office for nearly three years, until death had pity on him, since he did not resist it in the fulfilment of his obligations, nor could his brethren excuse him from the weight of it. In due time we shall relate the characteristics of that glorious column of this holy province, for there is much to tell. In that chapter were received the ordinances of our most reverend Rodulfo of happy memory, given in Roma in the former year of 640, in which the houses which were to have a vote in the intermediary congregation (whose first deputation was made in the provincial chapter of the year six hundred and thirty-three) were changed. [We also received] other ordinances. But another form was finally given to this in the conference of the year 650, where opposition arose²⁷ to the acts abro-

²⁷ "In the acts of the said congregation [of 1650, held at Nueva Segovia] is also mentioned a decree by the most reverend Marinis,

gating the said ordinances, made by the most reverend fathers Turco and Marinis²⁸ in regard to the vicariates lasting for four years, providing at the request of this province that their term be no more than two years. The authority of the acts of the general chapter of Roma was given afterward to that decision, in that same year of 650. That chapter also confirmed it in the title of the ordinances of this province. Doubtless that is a very important and useful arrangement, not so greatly for the spiritual ease of the Indians, who rejoice to see themselves cared for by many different fathers, as for our own use; for the good pilot must not keep to one ship, but serves God better when free and less when bound down.

[This chapter gives also a relation of the disastrous earthquake of 1645, which has been described in full elsewhere. Santa Cruz takes occasion to give a short summary of the early history of the Philippines and Manila. Chapters xxiii-xxv deal with the troubles with the Dutch during these years, and recount various miracles wrought by our Lady of the Rosary. Chapters xxvi-xxx treat of Chinese affairs

which expressly annulled the mandate of the most reverend Turco, providing that the vicariates which possess votes in the chapter-sessions shall last only two years. This law of the province has suffered some modifications, according to the circumstances of the times. Since the intermediate sessions or congregations were suppressed, the office of vicar lasts four years – or, more correctly, the vicar is removable at the pleasure of the superior of the order, because the reason of his irremovability, which was the vote in the chapter, no longer exists. From this modification, however, must be excepted the rector of the college of Santo Tomás and the vicar of Cavite, who still enjoy that right.” (Ferrando’s *Hist. de los PP. Dominicos*, ii, p. 608.)

²⁸ These generals of the Dominican order were, respectively, Fray Tomás Turco and Fray Juan Bautista de Marinis.

and the missions of the Dominicans in China. Chapter xxxi is an account of the life of father Fray Francisco Diaz, who died in the year 1646. He had arrived at the Philippine province in 1632, and went to China in 1635, where he passed the remainder of his life.]

CHAPTER XXXII

Of the intermediary junta; and of the life of the father commissary, Fray Domingo Gonçalez.

The intermediary junta was held May 25, 1647, in the convent of Santo Domingo in Manila. In that junta were passed some special declarations, although only three, and the rules were only repetitions of the past ones. As ever, this holy province has proceeded with great caution in imposing laws, for it is careful lest many new laws confuse the memory of the old ones; and lest one embarrass the other, if there are a multitude of laws. Laws are the walls of the order; but there may be so many of them that they bind the order too much, and smother it, or make a labyrinth – especially since the religious are few in number and ready to obey to the letter, without its being necessary to talk with the community, so that one single individual considers himself as comprehended by it, even though the law appears unjust to him. But if there are many laws, the order becomes afflicted. In that junta it was declared that the obeisance need not be given to vicars-general as a right, but that it can be given as a sign of reverence if the provincial is absent. That has always been the custom and appears to be an excellent one. It was also declared that the rules which are not general,

only bind rigorously in the chapter in which they are instituted, and not in the following ones in which they are confirmed; for the declaration that they are confirmed is only that they may be observed, and that they may not be regarded as obsolete so soon. The venerable and ancient provincial, Fray Domingo Gonçalez, commissary of the Holy Office, was present at the junta, and he left that second station, which is one of great anxiety, with soul greatly refreshed for the prosecution of his duty. But although he did not leave his office imperfect he did not finish it; for the Lord, having been satisfied with his pious desire, took the burden from his shoulders in the month of November following the said junta, in order to let him pass to the better life, regarding as good his seventy and more years (of labors from his youth up). He died on the fifth of the said month, leaving great sorrow, not only to the religious, who lost an excellent father – one of the most loving that this province has had, and one who has most illumined it – but also to outsiders, both religious and laymen, by whom the father was greatly revered.

[He was born in Madrid, and took the habit in the convent at Guadalajara, being afterward sent to study in the convents at Salamanca and Valladolid. After serving in various posts in Spain he went to the Philippines in 1602, where he almost immediately attained renown. Being sent to Nueva Segovia to learn the native language, he applied himself so well that he became most fluent in it, and used it with the natives for five years. Finally returning to Manila, he became an active and efficient worker there. He was the first regent of the College of Santo Tomas, and lecturer therein, also acting as rector various

times. He became provincial for the first time in 1633, and during his term was most careful in the visitation, going even to the island Hermosa.]

[The following chapter continues the same matter. The great fervor and devotion of the father gave him the commissaryship of the Holy Office. During his second provincialate he was also assiduous in the visitation, and died shortly after the intermediary junta of 1647 at the age of seventy-three. He left many writings in scholastic and moral theology, which were widely used after his death.]

CHAPTER XXXIV

Of the election of provincial; the mission that arrived from España; and the despatches that it brought.

After the death of the father commissary, Fray Domingo González, the province was left in tears and orphaned, because of the lack of columns of that kind in the spiritual edifice; although it is true that such loss will not be the cause of its ruin, for God is the only foundation. But necessarily such losses leave the province sorrowful and wounded; and one who can fully supply the vacancy left by a father who looked after his causes with so great love, and whom all obeyed with so great satisfaction, is not found so easily. Notwithstanding, the foresight of our Elias was able to provide a successor already experienced, a disciple of his own spirit, who succeeded him the first time;²⁹ and he now charged the fathers before his death to make that man provincial, al-

²⁹ Alluding to Carlos Clemente Gant, who had been provincial during 1637-41.

though he was very aged, being sixty-six years old, albeit a person of good health. Accordingly, he was elected provincial on the second of May, 648, in the convent of Santo Domingo without any opposition. The choice was loudly applauded, both by the province and by the city, for the new prelate was well liked by all, because of his great authority, his impartiality with affability, his zeal with discretion, and his prudence attested by proofs. Although it is true that years usually imprint their changes on men, yet ability makes them superior to the laws of time; and since they are, in addition, on a road that they have traversed, they enter it immediately with many advantages, and act definitely from the beginning—thus avoiding the suspension of government with which necessarily those who do not know the path must begin. In order to govern the definitors, and to dispose of the offices, it is very important to have an acquaintance with the persons and to have visited the provinces and villages, in order to be free from arbitrary notions, and to enter upon the functions of his office from the first with a master's experience. The prior of Santo Domingo was vicar-general, and presided at the election. When he finished his term of office, that same year, the fathers of the convent chose as their prelate the father commissary, Fray Juan de los Angeles. He, by great importunity and the influence which God gave him in the minds of devout persons, freed the convent, which was then deeply in debt; and rebuilt the church which had been in ruins since the earthquake. He left that church very strongly built of stone, and greatly beautified by its corridors and galleries, and its many windows—which make it very sightly, and give it

much light, extent, and beauty in the choir. It still remains today one of the best churches in the city. As the said father is still living, it will suffice to tell in due time all that he has done in this province, which has been much. It is certain that the province owes him a great debt for the honor he has conferred on it, and his works, although his love for it does not permit him to be idle.

In July of that same year a patache came to these islands, quite beyond the scanty hope that we had. But the providence of God – which, as we have said so many times, measures the stability and preservation of this field of Christendom with a distinct rule, and not with ordinary ones – placed in the heart of the viceroy of Nueva España (since it had been two years since any ship had gone hence) to make the said patache go down to Acapulco from Realejo.⁸⁰ There he put aboard of it the situado and necessary supplies, and entrusted the vessel to General Christoval Romero, a perfectly satisfactory person, who had had experience in these lands, who was then detained at Mexico. It was our Lord's pleasure to grant him good winds, so that he reached these islands, although with the anxiety that one can understand; for he feared that already the Spanish name had been blotted out of them. The reason why no ship had sailed was that which we have said regarding the Dutch enemy; and for two years we had done no little in defending ourselves from their stubborn hostility. The said commander made port at the harbor of Lampon, either because it was suitable, as he feared the enemy, or because he could do no more. He learned there that the Dutch were still commit-

⁸⁰ A town in Nicaragua, on the Pacific coast.

ting piracies along those coasts and endeavoring to recoup themselves for some of their past losses. Everything was a miracle, and no less than had happened many days in those ports; and the day when the said patache entered, God covered it with the shade of a cloud so dense that it was sufficient to hide it from the enemy. As soon as they anchored, they put ashore the money and supplies, and sent it all as quickly as possible to Manila. They had need of all their diligence, for, the cloud having been taken away, the Dutch hastened to search the anchoring-places. Finding that the said patache had escaped them, and that it had already cast anchor in a safe port, they launched their small boats well manned with crews and arms and some versos. Our commander having seen that—as he had no men to receive them, and his ship was of poor sailing qualities—as it was the only means left to him in his necessity, after seeing by the mercy of God his men and the money safe, set the patache afire at its very moorings, and then with the few sailors who had remained with him retired to the mountains whence he made his way to Manila. The enemy, who saw the ship converted into ashes, seized, as a small revenge, only some small pieces [of ordnance] that the fire left, for nothing else remained. It was the last admonition that God's powerful hand was immediately defending these islands. With that the Dutch left the islands, and have not had the slightest inclination to return to them. The reception given in Manila to the said commander (and truly, on account of the circumstances of that time, this had been the most welcome succor which these islands had received since their discovery) was to incarcer-

ate him in the fort of Santiago. Keeping him in very close imprisonment, a suit was commenced against him for lack of courage, because he had burned the patache before it was necessary. The trial proceeded in such fashion that the judge-commissary, who was a lawyer of the royal Audiencia, sentenced him to decapitation (although in the universal belief he deserved a monument), without his allegations that he had burned the patache because he had no men with whom at least to show front, and that those whom he had were worn-out and undisciplined, not being of any avail; nor did they heed his statement that the king lost but little in an old boat without arms or equipment, and that he considered that it would be rash to have shown any opposition to the enemy. The sentence appeared too severe to the royal Audiencia, but not ill-founded, as reputation had been lost, and that is the most delicate gift and the most priceless. Thus can one see in these matters the fear in which we live here. The matter was taken by the advocate to the Audiencia in degree of appeal. The common opinion was that the people were grieved that so great a service should be paid with such harshness, and that, to attend to reasons of state, one should break with the holy laws of gratitude. The whole matter was examined in that most just assembly, and it was decided to moderate the above sentence and measures so that justice might not complain. In that way did God favor the said commander, and he obtained his liberty, and has since held honorable charges in the service of his Majesty. Today when this is written (the year 676), he is castellan of the presidio and forts of Cavente [*sc.*, Cavite], which is one of the best ports in these is-

lands. We all had part in the consolations and advantages of that fortunate patache; but this holy province had more than all, for a large mission came for it. That vessel brought thirty religious,²¹ who were in charge of father Fray Juan Bautista de Morales, who, as we have said, and as we shall tell more at length when we write his life, went to Europa by way of East India in 1640. Now he returned with this fine company of soldiers, selected by the hand of God for these missions of His. He came also with many benedictions and favorable despatches from Roma and España. He brought to the convent of Manila the jubilee²² of the forty hours for fifteen years; it was assigned from the fifteenth of September, and care is taken to ask in time for its continuation by the apostolic see. He brought one also for San Juan de Letran and another for San Juan del Monte. He also brought an apostolic bull, from his Holiness Innocent Tenth of blessed memory, for the erection of a university in the college of Santo Tomas of Manila, and letters from the king our sovereign (of which we shall treat later); and the resolutions which were taken in the holy city of Roma in regard to the administration of the fields of Christendom in China (which we shall also tell). He also brought many other despatches and rules which concern the order, which will be mentioned when this history demands them. The religious who came in that mission are

²¹ Twenty-seven, according to the list in *Reseña biográfica*.

²² The term "jubilee" is adopted by the Catholic church from the Jewish, and proclaims from time to time a "year of remission" from the penal consequences of sin – a plenary indulgence granted to those who repent and perform certain pious works. (See Addis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary*, p. 488.)

as follows:²² The vicar-general, Fray Bautista de Morales; father Fray Felipe Pardo, son of [the convent of] San Pablo in Valladolid, and master of the students in the same house; father Fray Pedro Benitez, son of the [convent of] Santo Domingo in Xerez, fellow of Santo Thomas in Sevilla, and teacher of writing there; father Fray Salvador Mexia, son of [the convent of] San Pablo in Sevilla, and fellow of Santo Thomas in the same city; father Fray Benito Perez, son of [the convent of] San Pablo in Sevilla, and formerly lecturer in the humanities at Santo Thomas; father Fray Juan Camacho, son of the convent and college of Nuestra Señora del Rosario in Almagro; father Fray Juan de Paz, son of [the convent of] San Pablo in Cordova, deacon, fellow of Santo Thomas in Sevilla, and teacher of arts in the same college; father Fray Domingo de Navarrete, son of the convent in Peñafiel, fellow of San Gregorio in Valladolid, where he lectured on arts; father Fray Pedro Camacho, son of [the convent of] San Pablo in Sevilla; father Fray Victorio Riccio, son of [the convent of] Santo Domingo in Fiesculi [*sc.*, Fiesole] and lecturer; father Fray Timotheo de San Antonio, son of [the convent of] San Marcos in Florencia; father Fray Justiniano de San Jacinto, a Pole, who went from the province of España; father Fray Bernardo Cejudo, assistant lecturer, son of the convent and college of Nuestra Señora del Rosario in Almagro; father Fray Domingo Coronado, son of [the convent of] San Estevan in Salamanca; father Fray Luis Gutierrez, son of [the convent in] Almagro; father Fray Manuel

²² See sketches of the lives of all these friars in *Reseña biográfica*, i, pp. 455-478.

Rodriguez, son of [the convent of] San Estevan in Salamanca; father Fray Thomas de Santa Ana, of Andalucia; father Fray Thomas de Castroverde, son of [the convent in] Almagro; father Fray Christoval Poblete, son of [the convent in] Almagro; father Fray Diego de Quintana, son of [the convent of] Portaceli in Sevilla; father Fray Francisco Varo, son of [the convent of] San Pablo in Sevilla; father Fray Juan Zambrano, son of [the convent of] San Pablo in Sevilla; father Fray Francisco Castellanos, son of [the convent in] Almagro; father Fray Christoval Tamayo, son of [the convent in] Ossuna; father Fray Diego de Ordaz, son of the convent in Oaxaca; father Fray Juan de Fontidueña, son of the convent of San Jacinto in Mexico, a house belonging to this province; father Fray Diego Sanchez, son of the same house as the last; Fray Antonio de la Cruz, of Andalucia, a lay-brother; Fray Alonso Benitez, a lay-brother, son of [the convent of] San Jacinto in Mexico; Fray Luis de Estrada, a lay-brother, son of the same convent.

That fine mission was received with the charity and pleasure that can be understood, especially as there was a great need of religious – who, when there are but few of them, experience great hardship and sorrow; and, after having suffered these when their number was few, they now attached no importance to them. But God helped them in their greatest need, and the father provincial who began to rule fortunately had a very encouraging beginning in his office, and promised himself that he would accomplish not only the half of his work, but all with the aid of God, and with that of sons and associates who were so courageous. He went about

distributing them among the various languages and places of labor, and immediately commenced his visits, which is (and rightly) the matter of greatest care. It will not be well to pass by in silence both the excellent reputation enjoyed by our sacred order of this holy province, and the aid that it receives by the help of the divine grace in preserving itself in humility, and free from worldly considerations and dignities, which do not fail to make some stir in the silence of the cloister. It is a fact that in the most general chapter held in Roma in the year 1644, in the warrant that concerns this province (number 12) favor was granted to it by which those who should have lectured in arts and theology for twelve years in the college of Santo Thomas of Manila should have a vote and place after the fathers who should have been provincials, inferior to them and among themselves respectively. Also (in the same chapter), preachers-general are instituted with a vote and concessions, if they have been ministers to the Chinese for twelve years in the hospital of San Gabriel. The province received those favors and indults with all the due expressions of humility and thankfulness. But it petitioned from them in consideration of the fact that it had been founded without those special rules; and in that manner it was going joyfully on its way to its object – namely, the employment of all its cares in the welfare of souls, in the learning of which (for the will has its schools also) all the other faculties live here subordinated. On that account, in each chapter or junta all the ministries are changed, and with the same facility the other offices, without consideration or pretext of reward, or any dispute arising. And although those appointed to the said oc-

cupations serve God and the order well, yet since the province thought that that might possibly distract them, or make them consider with less resignation, the changes which are continually made, therefore the province petitioned our reverend father-general and the ensuing general chapter to be pleased to revoke the said concession. The arguments having been examined, this petition was allowed in the general chapter at Roma in the year fifty; and the said concession was revoked with great praise and edification, which is made evident therein; for the chapter praised the zeal of this province, which thus cares for conserving itself in a holy simplicity and readiness, so that the care of its authorized employments may not confuse its principal end—namely, that all of them engage equally in the work until death, so that when death comes they may await all the reward together, when they will not be defrauded of a high place and will be paid in better money.

[One of the despatches received by the province was of deep import. This consisted of the decisions rendered by the Congregation de Propaganda Fide in Rome, on certain questions asked by Juan Bautista de Morales in regard to Chinese missions and mission work, the method of administering the sacraments there, and the preaching of the faith. These questions and answers (translated into Spanish) follow in chapter xxxv, and are followed by a decree of approbation passed by the Propaganda on September 12, 1645. The “resolutions,” as they are termed, are for the sake of securing uniformity in the administration of the sacraments and the preaching of the faith in China, “among all and any missionaries of whatever order, religious body, or rule of

life, and also among those of the Society of Jesus." These were aimed especially at the Jesuits. Chapter xxxvi gives an account of the apostolic and royal erection of the college of Santo Tomás of Manila into a university. This event will be noted fully hereafter. Chapters xxxvii-xlii relate the life of father Fray Francisco de Capillas, who suffered martyrdom in China in 1648. Continuing, chapters xliii-xlix treat also of Chinese affairs.]

CHAPTER L

Of the events of this time within and without the province, and the deaths of some religious of renown.

[The chapter opens with a notice of the so-called "holy year" or jubilee of 1650, proclaimed at Rome. That same year the general chapter of the Dominican order was held at Rome, and resulted in the election of Fray Juan Bautista de Marinis as general of the order.]

That same year this province celebrated a junta and intermediary chapter of the second provincialate of the father commissary Fray Carlos Clemente Gant, in the convent of Santo Domingo at Lalo, in Nueva Segovia or Cagayan, as was ordered by number one in the general chapter of 1647, at Valencia, for this province. This was to the effect that the chapter-sessions should be held alternately between the convent of Santo Domingo of Manila and the aforesaid convent of Lalo, for reasons alleged by the ministers of that bishopric. They had to sail, every two years, one hundred and more leguas exposed to very great dangers and violent seas [in order to at-

tend the chapter], and thus left their missions discommoded; and they needed a great sum of money to procure large boats, to pay the rowers and sailors, and for the other things that they considered. Notwithstanding that, experience, the mistress of prudence, afterward disclosed great inconveniences, and that those were only the opinions of a few religious and that they themselves experienced the greatest dangers that follow. For although it is a fact that the voyage is dangerous, yet if it be made at the proper season and the return be made by the first of May, without making any way-stations, the sea is quiet. By God's mercy, prosperous voyages have always been made; and the fathers provincial make them two or three times during their four years. It is also advantageous for the religious themselves [to make that voyage to Manila], for then they can get what their houses and churches and the Indians need; and they can arrange it personally, and satisfactorily to themselves, and they act as agents for those who remain there. The chief advantage is that the chapter-sessions have the authority that they require in the capital of Manila, where all the orders and their congregations hold them with more definiteness and less trouble in general. Although some individuals do suffer somewhat, yet with that they acquire merit; and absences are easily filled in their ministries, for vicars-general remain who attend to that. For the above and other reasons, a petition was made in that general chapter of Roma in that year 1650, where the reasons were stated, and the said order was revoked (*titulo pro provincia Philippina*, number 4); and it was confirmed in the general chapter held in the said holy city (number

1). Consequently, from that time thenceforth that difficulty has been removed, and all the fathers come [to Manila] very willingly. Some letters were received in that junta from the most illustrious Fray Domingo [*sic*] de Marinis, then vicar-general of all the order; and others from our most reverend father, Fray Tomàs Turco: they annul a decree of the most reverend Fray Nicolàs Rodulfo given in the year of 40, ordering that the vicariates last four years. Being informed of the reasons which were alleged, it was recognized that such measure was not advisable (we have already touched upon this matter above, and there will always be something to say about it). This is a holy government for all, which, well considered, redounds to the greater utility of the houses and villages, where he who is a perfect religious is not troubled at changes – for he is quite unconcerned whether he serves God in this or in that ministry; and wherever he is there is work to do, and a place where he may well employ his courage. As for him who regrets to leave a house it is better for him to leave it after he has served his two years. He should endeavor to fulfil his obligation and to gain a reputation as one who does not mind such things, without embarrassing himself with thoughts of changing from one vineyard to another, which generally obscures talent. Our profession holds us captive to obedience, but leaves us free in regard to all temporal considerations. The minister has great self-love, more than the Indians, and thinks that he will not be disturbed after two years, however much the wretched beings say to him and flatter him. . . . The said revocation was confirmed by the said chapter in that holy year [of 1650] (number 2 of the or-

dinances concerning this province). *Item*: Vote was given to the rector of Santo Tomàs in provincial chapters and juntas; and likewise other letters-patent so that any vicariate that should be vacant should give a vote in the junta. Between the chapter and the said junta, the provincial shall appoint another vicar after consulting some of the fathers. But if it shall become vacant between the intermediary chapter and the election, a consulting junta shall be held, in the province of Manila, of the fathers-counselors and the rector, in order to institute the said vicariate, which can have vote in the ensuing election; but if the vicariate be instituted in any other way, it shall not have a vote. Thus they were presented in the said junta and were received. The ordinances of the above-mentioned chapter of Valencia of 1647 were also accepted. In regard to the orders contained in them touching the provinces of Indias in general – in ordinance 6, that neither the provincials nor the chapters can give permission to the religious to return to their provinces of España, petition was made to our most reverend general, in behalf of this province, to exempt it from that observance for reasons that were advanced. In consideration of those reasons, his Reverence and the general chapter of Roma conceded us that favor in the said year of the jubilee, in the section treating of this province (number 3), granting permission to the father provincial who should be in office at that time that, the reasons of the religious who wished to return having been examined, he might assemble the council of Manila and represent the matter to it; and, in accordance with their vote, the religious shall be or shall not be sent, without its being necessary

to have recourse to the reverend generals. Of a truth, it was a most just arrangement, not only because we are twice as far [from Roma] as are the other provinces of Indias, but in accordance with the special rule and ordinance of this province. Although there is always a great need of religious in it, yet he who is rendered disconsolate is superfluous, and willingly becomes a violent soldier who gives and receives signal injury – although God does not wish that they complain of what is given to them. The illness of the man is learned in this consultation, and the remedy is immediately applied without exigency or delay, which is not slavery. Those who return to España and do not keep this holy province much in mind are very few, when they are undeceived, and find that that bad humor was in themselves, was not the fault of the land, and that they must live with unrest in this world; for the center of our desire is heaven, for which we are born. In no place can we live with greater freedom and, consequently, with less fear and more quiet unless we go hunting for encumbrances to put in it. *Unusquisque in suo sensu abundet.*³⁴

[The deceased religious mentioned in that junta are as follows: The lay-brother Fray Juan de San Jacinto, who died in 1648, was a son of the convent of Valencia, and on account of his good work was sent to Japan. After his return to Manila he was sent to Spain (1630) by way of East India, and returned by way of Nueva España. Christoval de Leon, of the royal convent of Granada, died at the age of seventy in the province of Pangasinán, that same year. He had filled some important offices in the order, among

³⁴ i.e., "Let each one abound in his own understanding."

them being defnitor (1633), and prior of the Manila convent, returning thence to his labors in Pangasinán. Geronimo de Sotomayor Orato, a native of Mexico and son of that convent, and Tomàs Ramos, son of the convent of San Vicente in Plasencia, who had been captured by the Dutch, died at sea while being sent back to Manila. Pedro Benitez died in 1650; he had been assigned to the Nueva Segovia missions, where he was studying the language at the time of his death.]

[Chapter li continues the mention of certain deceased religious. Francisco de la Trinidad died as bishop of Santa Marta, in the Indias, in 1663. In 1651 he had been sent as procurator from the Philippines to Spain and Rome, being at that time prior of the Manila convent; and he served as defnitor for his province at Rome in 1656. He was a native of Vizcaya, and had taken the habit in the Philippines. Martin Real de la Cruz died in the bishopric of Cagayan in 1651: He was a son of the convent of Carboneras in the province of España, and became a fellow in the college at Valladolid. After arriving at the Philippines he was sent to the bishopric of Nueva Segovia, where he learned the language perfectly; and he wrote many sermons and discourses, which were preserved in manuscript and copied for the use of the order. He became rector of the college of Santo Tomás at Manila, and at the same time first rector and chancellor of the university erected in that college in 1648. On the completion of that office he returned to his missions in Cagayan, and died in the remote missions of the Babuyan Islands. In the same bishopric died also during that period Lucas Garcia, at the age of seventy-six. He

had a perfect command of the language, and was a sympathetic and arduous missionary worker. He acted more than once as a vicar-provincial, and went to the island of Hermosa, where he labored among the natives and Spanish soldiers. After serving as rector of the college of Santo Tomás he returned to his missions in Cagayan, where death met him. The lay-brother Francisco de San Agustin died in the village of Lalo, in the same province, a helpful and humble worker. In the convent of San Jacinto, outside the walls of the City of Mexico, died in the year 1651 Sebastian de Oquendo, a native of Oviedo in Castilla. He had been minister to the Chinese of the Parián, and had lectured in the arts and theology in the college of Santo Tomás. The Manila convent of the order was served by him in the office of prior; and he also preached in that city with great success, leaving many writings in manuscript on scholastic theology, which were used long afterward. At death he was buried in the convent of San Jacinto, where he was serving as prior. His body was found uncorrupted, in 1658, by some Dominican missionaries en route to the Philippines.]

The most novel event in the year 1651 in the city of Manila was the imprisonment, by order of Governor Don Diego Faxardo, of the person of the master-of-camp, Manuel Estacio Benegas, who then filled that office at Manila. That happened on September 16 of that year, and his property was confiscated at the same time. He was a native of Granada, and came to these islands as captain of infantry in the service of the king. Because of his blood, which was said to be noble, and his excellent conduct, he was well married here, and had many sons

and daughters who have always managed to preserve themselves with splendor and to keep up their reputation with [official] employments and equal marriages. His arrest was a very great innovation, for from the time when the said governor assumed his office he had honored the master-of-camp, arriving [at the islands] thus, with notable standing, the governor, seeing him capable and experienced in all matters, almost made him his Hercules, and placed in his hands the keys to everything. He made the master-of-camp the only and necessary go-between in all his arrangements and secrets. That was followed, as its inseparable corollary, by what is called a change of fortune; for he thought that he had mounted so high while the impetus of his wheel remained very low. Although the master-of-camp made many friends, he raised up against himself a greater number of enemies – either querulous or discontented at seeing that a superior whom God made a sun because of his office, so that he might be a universal and [un]mistakable cause, had been appropriated and set apart for himself. That alone was enough to affront and offend the most retired inferior. And although Hercules cannot prevail over two, much less over so many, his enemies made such attempts to secure his downfall and studied over the matter so much that they laid a scheme to embroil him with the governor, who had purposely shut himself up and extinguished all the lights – one of warning, while behind it entered the rest of the troop. He was immediately thrust into a very close and dark prison, and all his property was sequestered; and gratitude and confidence, taking the part of the many who were aggrieved, became the plaintiffs who

made the most criminal charge. Therefore, since the said governor was a just man, and without any doubt upright and even inflexible, he was not satisfied with aggravating the imprisonment, but had torture applied to the prisoner – which was very severe, and more so in a man as corpulent and as delicate as he was. The cause, charges, and acquittals proceeded, but before the sentence was reached the master-of-camp died in prison, giving tokens of being a true Christian, and with a great submission to the will of God, who had without doubt disposed him for that road for salvation; for he was a very intelligent man, and his capacity availed him there greatly. And what do we know might have happened to him had he died in a condition of prosperity? Incomprehensible are the ways of divine Mercy.

[Chapter lii, the last chapter of the first book, treats of Chinese affairs.]

Book second of the second part of the first century and history of the province of Santo Rosario of the Order of Preachers, in Filipinas, Japon, and China.

CHAPTER FIRST

Chapter, and election of provincial; and events in those times

On April 20 of the year 1652, the members of the chapter were assembled in the convent of Santo Domingo in Manila, and elected as provincial the reverend father Fray Pedro de Ledo, then prior of that said convent and vicar-provincial of Tagalos. He was a person of all good qualities, a native of

Mexico, and of noble parentage in that city. He took the habit and professed in this convent of Santo Domingo in Manila. In his studies he gave so good an account of himself that he lectured in arts and theology, and became regent in our college of Santo Tomas. He always had the name of an excellent student and learned man. On that account, and because of his great prudence, known to us by experience, the religious elected him to the post of provincial, which he filled very successfully and with great credit. Among the special events of that chapter was the announcement of the new university of Santo Tomas and its apostolic erection by a bull which his Holiness Innocent Tenth, of blessed memory, was pleased to promulgate at the instance of the king our sovereign, Felipe Fourth the Great. His Majesty, as sole patron, was pleased to put his hand to that—an honor very worthy of publication by the chapter; and, although it was current in all the province, that solemnity was still to be performed. The house of San Miguel of Ituy, in the province of Nueva Segovia, was also accepted. That is a great stretch consisting of heathen settlements for the greater part, although there are some Christians among them, some of whom are those who flee from other villages. It lies on the eastern border of the province of Cagayan, and extends from some high mountain chains to the coast; and, as it is so rough a land, it has not yet been possible to conquer it, although many attempts have been made, the religious going sometimes with and sometimes without soldiers. Missionaries have also been appointed on various occasions; but although they have baptized many persons, they have not been able to convert

them all. As vicar of the said house, the chapter then appointed father Fray Teodoro de la Madre de Dios, and gave him some priests as companions. They went thither with a presidio of Spanish soldiers at the command of the governor, who so ordained it. Many of the soldiers and two of the religious – father Fray Bernardo Cejudo and father Fray Manuel Rincon – died because of the poor climate or poor food. They all remained there, that time, for two years, and baptized many people there; and those natives long continued to embrace the law of God. But either because of the sickness, which had developed into a plague; or because those Indians were at war continually with other people of the interior, more powerful, who greatly persecuted them, and the faith of Christ: for all those causes, and because they could not cope with so many dangers and troubles so long as the natives were not quiet, the presidio that was still left retired to Cagayan, and the fathers returned, as they had lost hope of obtaining more fruit. However, our religious are accustomed to return there every little while, where some are baptized, and those who have made their decision do not fail to come; and the province does not lose sight of those posts, for the time when the Lord shall be pleased to summon them, and when they shall respond with resolution. They are numerous; and, since they live so far inland in this same island, it is well seen that it is very pitiable to behold them so buried in their darkness – or not to see them, for they flee from the light. It is not easy to form a judgment on what passes in this very island; for, since it extends for almost two hundred leguas, and all of the seacoast in all parts is subdued, all the fastnesses

of the mountains are inhabited by numerous peoples of various nations and languages, morally impossible to subdue, although great efforts are being and have been made. The reason therefor is, that since it rains so much in these lands, in addition to the so powerful heat of the sun, and there is so little stone, such thickets and undergrowth spring up that one can penetrate them with difficulty, and [it is even difficult] for the very animals of the forest. Consequently, nature has defended those people with a thousand walls. Then too they are children of idleness, and live on roots, the fruits of trees, and the flesh of game. They have no other granaries than those of their own bellies, nor more clothing than that which they get from their mothers. At the most, they wear a bjaque or breechcloth made from the bark of a tree, and which conceals but ill the token of their sex. They have no villages, but live in rude collections of huts or in camps, and in certain shacks which rise a vara above the earth, where they take refuge when it rains. When they feel the cold too keenly, they light fires and sleep in the ashes. Their life is as follows: When they rise in the morning, the robust ones go hunting the deer with arrows or dogs. If they kill one, they take it to their camp; and there they all eat it, half raw, half roasted, without salt or bread. If they do not have meat, they find roots and fruit, and so do they satisfy their hunger without further exercise of reason. And, since they are totally without reason, they have no form of religion or worship, except certain superstitions concerning the flight and songs of birds. Such is their wretched existence; and therefore do they grow up with the understanding of brutes, without care or

foresight. Some descend the mountain to trade with our Christian Indians. The latter approach them, and carry iron for their arrows, and rice and other things which they know well—especially tobacco, but which they are not accustomed to sow. Neither do they accustom themselves to any other kind of work. This island so abounds with these people that they are encountered at six leguas from Manila. By means of such communication they hear our Christians, who talk to them of our holy faith, and they approve it. But when they hear that the Christians pay tribute and bandalas, and that here are personal services (which it is necessary to have, for a civilized and domestic life) they return to their liberty. Some are reduced, but it is generally a fact that this becomes continually more difficult so long as the Lord who died for them does not drive from their side that enemy who makes them daily more obstinate and hard.

Late in July of the year 1653, the ship from Nueva España anchored in the port of Cavite, more fortunate than most of the vessels that have been seen since the discovery of these islands. It brought four personages—no less than the archbishop, the governor, the bishop of Cagayan, and an auditor. It had been some years since a ship had entered Cavite, for they all had to put back to other ports because of the bad weather. And although, wherever they finally enter, they discharge their cargo and assure the safety of the money, yet doubtless it is always a considerable loss that the ship does not come direct to Cavite, and, being laden with expenses and averías, at least one-third of its good fortune is dissipated. It had been twelve and more years since these islands

had had an archbishop; for one who came to them consecrated during that time, namely, his Excellency Don Fernando Montero de Espinosa, was obliged to come overland, as the ship anchored in the port of Lampon; and, when he arrived at the lake of Bay six leguas from this city—whither some persons from the cabildo had gone beforehand to receive him—he was suddenly overtaken by a severe illness, from which he soon died without the Church, his spouse, having enjoyed anything except letters and good news. And, lastly, came the evil of its widowhood before he had taken possession of it or seen it. For that reason all through that period there was considerable trouble, wherever trouble exists. But there is more here, where before a successor is obtained another six or eight years elapse. Now indeed did the lack become doubly felt, for not even one of the three suffragan bishops of this metropolitan was left; for if there are any bishops it is a great consolation. For then, although it is after the trouble of making voyages, students, religious, and secular priests are ordained, and there is recourse for all that episcopal dignity demands, and it is the shadow of a great relief for all Christians, although the bishops are distant. It was God's will to allow his Excellency Doctor Don Miguel de Poblete—a native of Mexico, in whose cathedral and in that of La Puebla de los Angeles he had held the greatest dignities—to arrive at that time. He was received here with great demonstrations of joy. The governor was Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, knight of the Order of Calatrava, a native of Malaga. He filled his post excellently, and was generally well liked by all; for he was very affable, pious, and not at all harsh like

the former governor. He had his troubles, of which we shall speak; and having governed for more than ten years his residencia was satisfactorily finished, and he had the good fortune to return to his country. The bishop of Cagayan was his Excellency, Master Don Fray Rodrigo de Cardenas, of our holy order and from the province of Perù, of whom we shall speak in the proper place. The auditor who came in that ship was Don Salvador de Espinosa, a learned and zealous man; and so much so that he began to work at matters of government before the proper time. For he immediately, seeing that there were but few Spaniards in the country, thought that he had learned all about it in a short time; and went about passing sentences and issuing manifestos, more a result of his erudition than from any necessity for it. His last offspring bore the character of admonition and was printed. All estates were grievously wounded by it – a serious matter when there is no one to take up the defense. His zeal might have been useful, but assuredly no service to God or the king followed; for his Majesty does not desire his vassals to be maltreated, but will consider it a great service if his ministers employ their great erudition in maintaining justice, observing it in all the villages, and honoring all, especially the ecclesiastical religious, and not in saying pretty things (with which they load one down when they consider that it will make their own dignity more estimable) – especially with these printed papers, which, since they are printed, give us more permission to make public complaint. Like that of another paper which was printed in the year 1671 – which finally brought its author to the earth, even before knowing the names,

it left persons both ecclesiastical and religious badly besmirched. In order to vaunt his erudition, he despoiled the living altars of their best ornament, namely, honor; and he did not hesitate to dedicate and send it to the feet of the greatest Majesty. But he will have had his answer already. The other admonitory pamphlet, when it was issued, seemed so foul to its very author that he himself went about collecting and burning it. Supposing the first an arbitrary statement, the second was Catholic and made by a person erudite and desirous of salvation. He lived for a while, for a mortal accident happened, and he paid his debt and had himself buried in the convent of Santo Domingo. To the great luck of so fortunate a ship, which brought so grave persons and those of the greatest distinction for these lands, was added the relief of money, which was larger than usual, as well as that of individual persons. . . .

[This chapter records the death (in 1653) in the Manila convent of father Fray Juan del Villar, a native of Luzena, and son of the convent of San Pablo el Real in Cordova. He went to the Philippines in 1635, and applied himself to the study of Chinese and taught in the college of Santo Tomás.]

Among other ordinances passed by that chapter, as they were necessary, was one that declared that no one could be employed in the office of lecturer in our college of Santo Thomas unless he first learned some one language native to that country – not because there is any logic in it, which must precede the sciences, but, since the first foundation of this province is that of the preaching and missions, all must know a language. He who does not know one, even if he be a very learned theologian, does not render

all the service that he can; and he does not have the good fortune to be sent by his prelates or to have a change of climate, which is perhaps important to his health. On arriving from España it is the custom for all to be divided, according to the arrangements made by the prelate, in the study of the various languages. With their pious desire and the master that is given them, he who can not learn enough in one year in order to make himself understood as a preacher and confessor in a language must be very dull. With such sound beginnings they are not embarrassed afterward in other occupations, since, when a place in the ministry becomes suitable, the greatest difficulty is found to have been conquered. Of greatest use on the sea is he who knows the duties of sailor and artilleryman; and as time goes on it becomes a matter of disconsolation for a religious to find himself without a language, and at an age when it is impossible to learn it, while it is a matter that might have been overcome in a brief time at the beginning.

[Chapters ii-iv treat of Chinese affairs and missions.]

CHAPTER V

Of the intermediary junta, and of a new mission sent to the kingdom of China

In the junta held in the convent of Santo Domingo in Manila in the year fifty-four, there was no new ordinance to pass; for all matters were well ordered, and this holy province always refrains from making new laws, which (like the impositions of new tributes) the obedience of the subjects always considers with more annoyance than respect. For since they

are the life of the monarchy, when there is any need, and its health, so also are they generally feared when they can be avoided; and when new ones are imposed, the old ones become distasteful. The provincial (who was then father Fray Pedro de Ledo, a man of great devotion and zeal), seeing that no ministers had left these islands for Japon since the year thirty-seven, as the gates had been shut to them and even walled up for our sins and those of that wretched land, tried to get together a mission for it; and, in order that he might not have cause to envy the explorers, he determined to go himself as prelate. But he always urged secrecy in the plan as the essential part, and only revealed it to those interested—namely, father Fray Raymundo del Valle, father Fray Pedro de Ansa (an oldtime minister of Cagayan), and father Fray Antonio de Barrios. He also shared the secret with the person who was to remain as vicar-general during his absence. With that intention, which was facilitated by his courage and pious desire, he bought a champan under pretext that it was to be used for the service of the province of Cagayan, and that he was lading it with supplies and ship's-stores for the said province (as was a fact). He spent a large sum in that, and even despoiled some churches of their money. That was without any doubt a harsh measure; for although the property of the convents is common here, and the provincial can take from one to aid another, in accordance with the ordinances of this province, yet that kind of goods and property are generally bought with the alms of the natives of the villages, given by them especially for their churches. Consequently an injury was done, even though it be as was alleged

on that occasion, namely, that he thought that there was a superabundance of alms. Since all the adornment of the tabernacle and of Solomon's temple falls short for divine worship, and these natives do not remember or take much note of leaving or not leaving their property in immemorial writings, their memories are indelibly impressed by seeing that they have given it by their sweat to the church, and they leave an honorable luster on a lamp and some candlesticks which they gave, and which remain, making a barangay honorable. The father-provincial, who was a prudent and erudite man, must have considered it all; yet notwithstanding, as he thought that the common right of a mission so important as Japon was greater than are the alms and the said gifts, the matter could not be regulated, and he used it all. The end was most lofty, the means which he chose very fitting – as were the three religious, who were the most suitable in the province; and the champan was staunch. All being concluded, the essential wheel of those plans was lacking, namely, the will of God without which one can never succeed. [The efforts to attain the Japanese mission proved fruitless, but the provincial succeeded in sending five missionaries to China. The remainder of the chapter treats of Chinese affairs.]

[Chapter vi relates in part the work of the mission to China. Chapter vii mentions certain missionaries who have died. The lay-brother Raymundo de la Cruz died gloriously after earnest labor. Geronimo de Zamora died in Cagayan province after a ministry among the natives of thirty-eight years, besides serving as commissary of the Holy Office. His native city was Zaragoza, and he professed in the con-

vent of that city. He was rector of the college of Santo Tomás, definitor in the year 1652, vicar-provincial four times in Cagayan, and ordinary in nearly all the houses of that province. Juan de las Casas also died in the same part of the province. Bernardo Cejudo died while engaged in the conversion of Ituy. He had reached the Philippines in 1648, and his life was one of austerity and earnest endeavor. Matias de Armas also died in 1655 in the province of Cagayan. He was born in the island of Tenerife in the city of Laguna, where he took the habit. In the Philippines he became a master of the Cagayan and Tagalog tongues, acting as vicar in Cagayan, and as vicar of Abucay in 1645. In the years 1638-39 he was in the island Hermosa, where he studied that language while awaiting an opportunity to go to China (which was unsuccessful). At his death in 1655 he was vicar of Afulug. Alonso Navarro, president of the Chinese hospital of San Gabriel, died that same year in the Manila convent. During his thirty years in the Dominican province he ministered to the Filipinos (being very fluent in the Tagalog language); served as definitor, vicar of many houses, and vicar-provincial; and built the church in the village of Binondoc. In Cagayan also died that year Pedro de Aniza, an earnest missionary who had acted as vicar-provincial and ordinary of many houses. He solemnized many baptisms among the hostile people of Irraya and those in the mountains.]

In 1656 father Fray Jacinto Gali of the province of Aragon, son of the convent at Girona in Cataluña, was elected provincial. By his excellent qualities, and the proofs that he had shown of his great pru-

dence and devotion in the course of the twenty-four years that he had spent in this holy province, he was worthy of the supreme dignity of its government. He learned very perfectly the difficult language of the Chinese, to whom he ministered often in the Parían and in Binondoc. He also knew the Tagalog language thoroughly; and thus accomplished much in both languages. The province, desirous of elevating to the highest pinnacle the one who would advance their order with the activity and integrity that such an office demands, elected him their head. His election was well received both within and without the house, for all were acquainted with him and knew that his merits had called for so honorable an occupation many years before. He began to exercise it, but God, satisfied with his holy desire, blocked his steps in a short time; for at his first departure, when he went to visit Cagayan, having arrived there a mortal illness attacked him in Lalo. There, after he had received the sacraments, and had taken farewell of his province with most tender and paternal speeches – not unaccompanied by the sobs of all the religious, who had hastened at the report of his illness – he gave his soul to the Lord in the eighth month of his provincialate, on New Year's day of the year 1657. That [such was his death] is understood by the tokens that his great virtue and devotion left to us. That was a perfect New Year's day for his soul, which will never grow old in his time. Before he went upon the said visit, Governor Sabiniano Manrique de Lara and the royal Audiencia, urged by their narrow-minded zeal as ministers of his Majesty, put a new pressure upon us. Through the fiscal of the king it was intimated to us

and to all the orders that we were to make a presentation of the lists of the chapters, as is done in the other provinces of the rest of the Indias. This is a very delicate thing to treat in a history, and it has cost many entreaties before God and His most holy mother our patroness – not because of the inconveniences that are feared from the royal piety of his Majesty, the king our sovereign, nor of the impartiality and justice of his ministers, who will know how to govern this matter with that fear of God and with prudence, as they do other matters; but because we ourselves fear in these conversions which are so tender, where perhaps the tying of the hands of the mother will mean the loosening of those of the children, which will render them restless, with greater difficulty in subduing them than in other provinces less remote from relief and remedy. What happened in that case was that we petitioned with due submission, and stated our reasons (although all our reasons cannot be taken to so lofty and grave courts); and as a consequence the royal Audiencia allowed us to continue our present custom, which we maintain not only from our rules, but from the foundation of this province, and sent the records to the royal Council of the Indias, where the matter was examined. In that year the province sent as defensor to the general chapter father Fray Juan Lopez, son of [the convent of] San Estevan in Salamanca, lecturer in theology, and regent of the college of Santo Thomàs of Manila. He later became the most illustrious bishop of Zibu and ascended to the archbishopric of the said city of Manila. We shall discuss him more in detail in the year of his death, which occurred lately, to the universal sorrow of these islands. Authority as pro-

curator-general was given to father Fray Francisco de la Trinidad in order that he might accompany the former. He was already in Madrid, and afterward became the most meritorious bishop of Santa Marta. The provincial having died, the prior of the convent of Santo Domingo of Manila, where the chapter of the coming election was to be held, namely, father Fray Lucas Montanero, became vicar-general according to our rules. Having called the conference or junta of the province, he set the time and day for the following chapter, namely, April 21, 1657, and it was held by arrangement of the said conference and its vicar-general.

[Chapter viii deals with the life and death (July, 1656), of Diego Rodriguez in China, and Chinese affairs. Chinese matters are discussed also in the three following chapters.]

CHAPTER XII

Great earthquake of San Bernardo's day; and the mission which arrived at the province

In the year 1658, when the father commissary Fray Juan de los Angeles was prior of the convent of Santo Domingo of Manila, another great and formidable earthquake occurred on the twentieth of August. In the opinion of all it was worse than that of the day of St. Andrew which we have related, which occurred in the year 1645; except that this one came alone in the quality of its greatness (for the shocks that accompanied it were much less severe than in the former; it is a natural thing to have these earthquakes come with a retinue, and they are among the evils that can never come singly). The

second reason why this one was less was based on the fact that the city of Manila was in a sad condition, and those lofty edifices of stone were on the ground, which then robbed the city of much of its pride. Therefore, although some people were killed and many met with accidents and bodily injury, it was not so bloody. However it did not fail to exercise its commission, and many edifices were violently overthrown and great disorder was occasioned not only in Manila but in all these islands. . . . Our convent of Santo Domingo was hardly used; and as the religious had no cells, as those which were left were full of water, they went along that street seeking corners where they could stay, even at great inconvenience. When the mission (of which we shall speak immediately) arrived, lodgings had to be arranged in the galleries of the new church, where beds and curtains were distributed among the various collateral naves. A better manner of lodging could not be found for many days, because the rainy season (which was a great drawback) had set in. The convent was very fortunate in having there its superior, who repaired so great a disaster with all courage and fortitude, and encouraged his subordinates by repairing their house with great skill and energy, notwithstanding that it was under heavy expenses. God performed miracles by his hand, and has continued the same in the other posts which he has held. Truly he is one of the most careful and indefatigable workers of this holy province, and as he is yet living, this remark must suffice.

That year arrived an excellent mission which had been collected in España by father Fray Francisco de la Trinidad, who had remained there as bishop-

elect of Santa Marta, and Father Matheo Bermudez, who conducted it to Mexico, where he remained as vicar of San Jacinto. The latter entrusted his office to father Fray Juan de Polanco, who brought that mission safely to Filipinas to the great joy of all the religious. The mission consisted of thirty-eight,³⁵ and their names, occupations, and native places are as follows in order of age: father Fray Joseph Duriach, son of the royal convent of Santa Catalina Martir in Barcelona, former lecturer in the arts in Girona; father Fray Luis Alvarez, son of [the convent of] San Pablo in Valladolid, former fellow of San Gregorio, and lecturer in the arts in the said his convent of San Pablo; father Fray Juan Polanco, son of [the convent of] San Pablo in Valladolid, former fellow of San Gregorio, and former master of students in Santa Maria la Real at Trianos, who came as vicar of that mission from Mexico; father Fray Alonso de Leon, son of [the convent of] San Pablo in Palencia; father Fray Domingo de San Pedro, son of [the convent of] Santa Zita in Palermo, lecturer in arts in the said his house; father Fray Pedro de Santo Domingo, son of [the convent of] San Pedro Martir in Mantua, and lecturer in arts in the said his house; father Fray Diego de San Roman, son of [the convent of] Santo Domingo in Victoria, and lecturer in logic in Santa Maria la Real in Trianos; father Fray Antonio Calderon, son of [the convent of] San Estevan in Salamanca, and fellow of Santo Tomàs in Alcalà de Henares; father Fray Francisco Sanchez, son of [the convent of] San Pedro Martir

³⁵ Thus in the text; but the list counts but thirty-six names, including the four who remained in Mexico. See biographical sketches of all in *Reseña biográfica*, ii, pp. 1-17.

in Toledo, and fellow of San Gregorio in Valladolid; father Fray Felipe Leonardo, son of the Preachers in Valencia; father Fray Tomàs Butiel, son of [the convent of] San Pablo in Hipra [*i.e.*, Ypres] in lower Germania; father Fray Salvador de Santo Tomàs, son of [the convent of] Santo Domingo in Guzman de San Lucar; father Fray Domingo de Villamide, son of [the convent of] Santo Domingo at Santiago in Galicia; father Fray Martin de Trigueros, son of [the convent of] Santo Domingo in Ocaña; father Fray Pedro del Barco, son of [the convent of] La Madre de Dios in Alcalà de Henares; father Fray Jayme Berge, son of [the convent of] Corpus Christi at Luchente in the kingdom of Valencia; father Fray Juan Teodoro, son of [the convent of] San Vicente at Calcha, in the province of Flandes; father Fray Agustin Garcia, son of [the convent of] Santo Tomàs in Madrid; father Fray Diego Serrano, son of [the convent of] San Pedro Martir in Toledo; father Fray Joseph de Noriega, son of [the convent of] San Estevan in Salamanca; father Fray Leonardo Marquez, son of [the convent of] San Agustin in Padua; father Fray Nicolas Merlo, son of [the convent of] San Estevan in Salamanca; father Fray Antonio Martinez, son of the convent of Santo Domingo at Santiago in Galicia; father Fray Tomàs de Leon, son of [the convent of] Santo Tomàs in Madrid, and brother of father Fray Alonso de Leon above mentioned; father Fray Fernando de Melgar, son of [the convent of] San Pedro Martir in Toledo; father Fray Lorenzo del Rosario, son of [the convent of] Santo Domingo in Guzman de San Lucar; father Fray Bartolome de Quiroga, son of [the convent of] Santo Domingo in Lugo;

father Fray Victorio de Almoynia, son of [the convent of] Santo Domingo at Santiago in Galicia; Fray Bernardo Alvarez, dean, son of [the convent of] San Pablo in Valladolid; Fray Estevan de Rivera, son of [the convent of] Santa Maria la Real in Trianos; Fray Melchor Vigil, dean, son of the said convent in Trianos; Fray Lucas de San Vicente, lay-brother, native of Salamanca, son of the convent of Santo Domingo in Manila. Those who remained sick in Mexico came the following year. They were as follows: father Fray Manuel de Guzman, son of the convent of San Pablo in Sevilla; father Fray Gregorio Ortiz, son of the Preachers in Zaragoza; Fray Domingo de Flores, dean, son of the convent of Santo Domingo in Zamora; Fray Andres de los Angeles, lay-brother, son of [the convent of] Santo Domingo in Oajaca. That fine mission arrived very opportunely, composed of religious who possessed so excellent abilities; they were young, and well fitted to advance the credit of this holy province. After the joyful congratulations which welcomed them, they were assigned by the arrangements of the prelate, then the father commissary, Fray Francisco de Paula, to the study of a language. They have gone forth as excellent ministers and missionaries, both those who are living and some who have already died.

[Chinese affairs again engross our author for the remainder of this chapter, as well as for the thirteenth.]

CHAPTER XIV

Junta of the year 1659; father Fray Juan Bautista de Morales goes to take part in it; and prior events in Zubinkeu.

The intermediary junta was held in 1659 in our convent of Santo Domingo in Manila. Among other matters that were decided there, we must not pass in silence the response made to the fathers of China to a question or memorial presented by them. [This memorial, in view of the disturbed state of China and the slender support that was received by the missionaries in China from the province in the Philippines, asks that whenever cultivated lands are given them as an alms they may accept them. The memorial or petition was not allowed, for the bad effects that might ensue from it; as the Chinese might misconstrue it and imagine that the missionaries go to their country for the sake of the lands alone, and not for the welfare of souls – the decision giving great satisfaction to Juan Bautista de Morales, vicar-provincial of China. The remainder of the chapter relates wholly to Chinese matters.]

[The insurrections in the provinces of Pangasinán, Ilocos, and Cagayan of the year 1660 are discussed in chapters xv and xvi (the latter treating also of the Chinese pirate Kuesing). They will be sufficiently related elsewhere in this work. Chapter xvii is a summary of the life of father Fray Joseph de Madrid, who was born in Cebú. After studying at Santo Tomás in Manila, he entered the order in that city. He was soon sent to the Chinese missions, but was unable to remain there on account of the climate and hence returned to Manila, where he

died a violent death at the hands of the Chinese of the Parián—who had revolted on account of the threatening messages of Kuesing in the year 1662. He was a natural linguist, speaking fluently Cebúan, Visayan, Tagalog, and the language of Ituy, beside the most difficult dialect of the Chinese, namely, that spoken about Canton. Chapters xviii and xix treat of the Chinese pirate Kuesing and Chinese affairs. Chapter xx contains accounts of the lives of various religious who died in the Dominican province during this time. Carlos Clemente Gant died in the province of Nueva Segovia at the age of more than seventy, having arrived in the Philippines in 1611. He was a native of Zaragoza, and professed in the same city. His mission field was in the province of Cagayan, whither he returned both times after his terms as provincial (1637, and 1648). He also became commissary of the Holy Office after the death of the commissary Fray Domingo Gonzalez. Joseph de Santa Maria (or Navarro), a son of the convent of San Pedro Martir at Marchena in Andalucía, went to the Philippines in 1648. He was vicar of the islands of Babuyanes, where he fell ill and had to go Lalo-c for treatment; on returning to his convent he was killed by the insurgents. Pedro de la Fuente, son of the convent of San Pablo of Burgos, served as lecturer in theology in the college of Santo Tomás in Manila, and regent and prior of the Manila convent, and was minister in various places in Cagayan. At his death he was vicar of the village of Pata. The father commissary, Fray Salvador Mexia, son of the Sevilla convent, went to the islands in 1648. He acted as vicar-provincial of Pangasinán, and was remembered for his zeal.

Francisco Martir Ballesteros, of the convent of Santo Domingo in Murcia, died in the province of Pangasinán at the age of more than seventy, being vicar-provincial of Pangasinán. He was a zealous minister, and left a number of sermons and other pious writings which circulated among the friars in manuscript. Rafael de la Carcel of the province of Aragon, a native of Mallorca, who went to the Philippines in 1632, also died in Pangasinán. Among other posts that he held he was prior of the Manila convent, for a while prior vicar-general, and vicar of Calasiao. His death occurred soon after the disaffection of that village, and was probably hastened by that loss. Rodrigo de Cardenas, bishop of Nueva Segovia, died in May, 1661. He had arrived at the Philippines in 1653, and held the office of bishop for eight years. He died greatly regretted by all.]

CHAPTER XXI

The holding of the provincial chapter for the election; death of Kuesing; father Fray Victorio [Riccio] returns to China with the reply to his embassy.

The father commissary, Fray Francisco de Paula, ended his term as provincial, and on April 7, 1661, the father commissary, Fray Felipe Pardo, then prior of the convent of Santo Domingo of Manila, was elected in that convent. That was the first time when he rose to the government of this province as provincial. He filled that office so well that after twelve years (in 1673) he was elected for the second time, and is at present in that office. He came to this province in the mission of 1648, for which he

left his convent of San Pablo at Valladolid, where he exercised the office of master of students. The province always kept him employed here in the offices of lecturer of morning classes, regent, and rector of the college of Santo Tomas; president of the hospital, and prior of Manila. Although he has filled all of them with great credit to his person, and has been useful and creditable to the order, yet the honor of commissary of the Holy Inquisition has given him greater prestige – both because any service for that holy tribunal (and especially that of commissary), means so much, and because of the circumstances of the time. For he was the first commissary elected after the disturbance, as famous as harmful, which was occasioned in these islands by the preceding commissary, who arrested the governor at that time without those orders that he ought to have awaited after having consulted – or, more correctly, having informed – the holy tribunal of Mexico. The father provincial commenced his first government with so much spirit and energy that much and even most of it was left for his second government. For the already-mentioned insurrection of the *Parián* happened in his term, as did the incident of our ambassador,⁸⁰ together with the measures taken in the offended provinces of the insurgent Indians, although those provinces are now quiet. In that and in the sending out of missions, in which he has always manifested his great love and inclination, and in maintaining them with aid, he could well boast of his great zeal and capacity – besides [carrying] the

⁸⁰ Referring to Fray Vittorio Ricci, the Dominican missionary who carried to Manila the message of Kue-sing, the Chinese corsair.

usual weight [of the province] which is always heavy. He sent father Fray Jayme Berge (who came in the mission of the year 1658) to become an associate to father Fray Victorio Riccio, and ordered father Fray Pedro de Santo Domingo, who desired it, to come to Manila. At the same time he gave orders and letters commanding father Fray Juan Polanco, whom the chapter had appointed definitor for Europa, and procurator-general, to come [to Manila]. He also conveyed a generous aid to our religious, as well as what the order of our father St. Francis gave him for their religious. That did not have the success that was desired, for the greater part was lost in the conveying of it through that so disturbed country. [The remainder of the chapter treats of Chinese affairs.]

[The four following chapters also treat of Chinese matters, including political and missionary affairs.]

CHAPTER XXVI

Of the intermediary junta; the arrival of a new governor in Filipinas; affairs of China; and of Mother Maria de Jesus.

The intermediary junta was held in our convent of Santo Domingo, on April fourteen, one thousand six hundred and sixty-three. Besides the usual arrangements, no especial thing was ordained in it except to entrust to the father provincial the printing of the ritual, and, when that was done, to see that the religious used it and no other. That is a very important provision, and one in which the zeal of our superiors is very well occupied, so that our procedure may be uniform, as we are charged in the beginning of our

holy constitutions. It is not advisable that this matter of ceremonies be free, since they are so necessary; and piety and opinion have no vote in this matter, in which the decree of the superiors has explained their decision. The worst results will follow if neglect occasions it, since the administration of the holy sacraments is the most essential point of the ministries; and they need rules and regulations, care in their study, and punctuality. In the year 1669, a very suitable ritual was published, which was quite uniform with the Roman ritual of Paul V. . . .

That year of 1663 our governor, the master-of-camp Don Diego de Salcedo, came to these islands. He was a worthy soldier of Flandes, where he had attained honorable posts; and since he had filled them so well his Majesty entrusted to him the influential post of captain-general and governor of these islands. If these islands were three thousand leguas nearer, that office would doubtless not be second in importance to those of America. The ship put in at Nueva Segovia, and consequently the said governor came overland – being received very hospitably by our ministering religious and those of our father St. Augustine, who are established along the way. On that journey also they were received by the natives with feasts, dancing, and music, in which they are very entertaining. His Lordship gained a good name in [receiving] those tokens of welcome, inadequate as they were, by the great affability and generosity that he displayed to the natives. He reached Manila and assumed his office amid great acclamation and pomp on the festal day of September eight, the day consecrated to the birth of the most holy Virgin. That was a great consolation to all people, and good

auguries were indicated although not all of them were fulfilled to the letter. He was beyond doubt a capable man, and one of great intellect. In but few days he understood whatever concerned his obligation, and never departed from it so long as it concerned the king's service. He made the despatches of the ships to España very punctually, and with foresight; for he recognized that the ship that left here annually to get the situado is the one that ought to have the greatest care, and demands activity [in preparation] so that it may not be pushed for time, but that one or two months shall be gained. Consequently, there always was a ship [on that line]; and God took charge of them and brought them in, seeing that people here were doing their utmost.⁸⁷ In respect to the good fortune with which he began [his term], he became faint-hearted, and cared little for being liked, for that post cannot be free from cause for harshness. The devil entered, upon seeing the necessary wall of love somewhat fallen; and he put complaints into the minds of the traders, which soon spread to the other estates. That enemy sowed dissension, which is his own seed; and the number of those disaffected increasing, much opposition to the governor arose. At the end of the year 1668 (October tenth) the governor was arrested by the commissary of the Inquisition, Fray Joseph de Paternina, an Augustinian. . . .

⁸⁷ Salcedo is commended for having despatched the Acapulco galleons so promptly, and so well equipped, that during his term of office they made the voyage every year, without being driven back by storms or compelled to winter at Acapulco; and the voyage to that port – formerly eight or nine months, often with shipwreck and great loss of life and property – was reduced to four or five months. (Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, p. 507.)

[Further references to the Chinese missions and politics are made, and the chapter ends with notices regarding a Spanish beata or devout woman, Maria de Jesus, who died in Manila in 1662. Her parents, Albaro de Angulo Tobar and Isabel de Morales, were old settlers in the islands, who had lived first in Cebú; and their daughter was born in Arevalo, in the island of Panay. The latter took the habit of beata in the tertiary order of the Dominicans, somewhat against the will of her parents. She gave many alms, spent the greater portion of her wealth in the building of the church of Santo Domingo, and reared orphan girls in her house.]

[The life and labors of the famous missionary to China, Juan Bautista de Morales, who died in 1664, fill chapters xxvii-xxxii. The following chapter is devoted to Fray Francisco de Paula, commissary of the Inquisition and twice provincial, and other fathers. The former was born in Segovia and took the habit at Salamanca. Enlisting in the Philippine mission in 1618, on arriving there he began to study Chinese in the Parián; but was soon transferred to the college of Santo Tomás, where he taught for eighteen years. He was a successful and eloquent preacher to the Spaniards, and in consequence was elected preacher-general of the Manila convent. The office of vicar-provincial, as far as Manila is concerned, was conferred on him; and in the year 1641 he was elected provincial. In 1647, while exercising his duties in the Manila college of Santo Tomás, whither he had returned after his office had expired, he was elected commissary of the Inquisition. In 1657 he was again elected provincial. Pedro de Santo Domingo, who took the habit in Milan, Italy,

went to the Philippines in 1658, at the age of forty, and was sent to the Chinese missions; but, being unable on account of his age to learn the language, he was sent back to Manila and became vicar of the convent of Santelmo in Cavite. Illness, however, pressing on him, he was assigned as vicar to the Philippine hospice of San Jacinto in Mexico, but died ere reaching his destination.]

CHAPTER XXXIV

The election of a new provincial in the person of the father commissary, Fray Juan de los Angeles; and the great troubles in China.

The capitular members assembled in the year 1665 to elect a provincial, as the father commissary, Fray Felipe Pardo, had completed his office. On the twenty-fifth of April they elected the father commissary, Fray Juan de los Angeles, of the province of Andalucia, and a son of the convent of Santo Domingo del Campo in the village of Zafra in Estremadura. He had come to this province in the year 1635, and had been minister of Tagalos in the district of Bataan, and afterward in the island Hermosa, where he remained six years (the time when the Dutch captured that fort and drove us from the land). He returned to Manila by way of Jacatra and Macasar, and to his former ministry of Tagalos. He was rector of the college of Santo Tomas, twice prior in our convent of Santo Domingo of Manila, at various times vicar-general, and definitor in 1661 and 1673. In the year that we mentioned, the province elected him as its prelate, to the general satisfaction of all. This is as much as we can say at present, for he is still living.

We can also say that since being provincial, he has undertaken the charge of the college for boys of San Juan de Letran. He has provided for them a very suitable and spacious house within the walls of Manila, that has gained repute and esteem for the pious education in virtue and the studies of those children, which is the object [of that college]. This holy province was struggling manfully at the time of that election, but both hands were busy in wiping off the tears that were shed before God for two reasons. [The first reason was the effort of the governor to make the orders publish the lists of ministries,⁸⁸ as was the custom in the other parts of the Indias. In 1665 the vessel which arrived brought his Excellency, Don Fray Juan Lopez, consecrated bishop-elect of Cebú. He brought with him the acts of the general chapter held in Rome in 1656; the execution of the measures for the government of the Indias in general were suspended, as the Philippines were not included in them unless mentioned specially. The second great trouble of the province was the cruelty practiced on the missionaries in China. The chapter ends with accounts of China and the work there.]

[Chinese affairs are continued in chapters xxxv-xl.]

⁸⁸ That is, of the posts filled in the islands by religious, in which they act as parish priests; the presentation of these lists to the royal patron practically reduces the aforesaid religious to employees of the government, and subjects them to episcopal visitation — a procedure which the orders always strenuously opposed. This subject is fully discussed by Santa Theresa, *ante*.

CHAPTER XLI

A new mission arrives in the province; and events of these times in Filipinas and China

The bishop Don Fray Juan de Polanco (who was not yet bishop-elect) went to España with the usual powers conferred by the province, following Don Fray Juan Lopez, bishop of Zibu and afterward archbishop of Manila, who had gone the preceding year with the same powers. But because of accidents, and since the province was so lacking in religious, a second procurator was despatched. That was an excellent measure, as the result showed; for the bishop of Zibu was embarrassed by his new promotion and by his despatches, so that he could not get the mission ready, although he had made a good start at it upon the arrival of Don Fray Juan de Polanco. The latter was very well received in the provinces of España, and all of them showed him great love and reverence because of the good impression that he gave by his virtues, which have without doubt the greatest attracting power for those spiritual soldiers. The commission is one of dangers, which only the loftiest object and obedience can make peaceful; for besides being the sample, as they say, of the cloth, such a person is not only looked at but spied upon by all; and it is necessary above all to bear God in mind and keep oneself acceptable to Him for so long and even almost desperate voyages, so that He may give health in so many hardships, climates, and paths of the earth, and [enable him to furnish] a good example for so many different kinds of persons with whom one must confer and voyage, in the midst of so many cares as he always has in his charge. The task of

making religious is that of the greatest difficulty; for so long as the men [sought] have the greatest abilities, their convents, who have reared them, feel it more, and say farewell to them to see them no more, where natural love does its duty and the devil is not careless – although, in fine, our holy provinces have always nourished this daughter of theirs in the belief that to give her a religious is to make God careful to send her many, and to preserve them with the wealth of their virtues. They send their sons to this honorable warfare, and the latter gain new blasons for them and get their first share of the spoils in the service of God and the welfare of souls. Therefore, the procurator who is securing men needs many lights of virtue, prudence, and affability, and great patience, for accidents that happen, and for the suitable choice of routes, and for guidance when they go astray; then the essential part of presenting the things in his care to the princes, and the latter's councils and counselors to whose questions he must make answer with truth and candor. The fear of God is master in all; for, if he swerve from that line, he cannot make a good voyage. For the other despatches by tribunals and accountancies, he needs to attend upon them without being troublesome, and enduring delays, civilities, and courtesies; for they are ministers of the king and worthy of all esteem, and he must await his time amid the so many cares entrusted to them. Just at present we all enjoy the ministry of a perfect procurator of Filipinas in our venerable bishop Don Fray Juan de Polanco, who must have been a model of procurators; for by his example and virtue alone, he found himself freed from all the difficulties that accompany that honorable office. In

their very beginnings he found them solved and conquered; and he made the very judges of his causes, and even those who were opposed to him, his attorneys. This is not imagination but the pure truth; and there are many witnesses still living now in the holy city of Roma (where he went as definitor in 1668), and in the royal court of Madrid – where he was favored by princes, and esteemed and respected as an apostolic and holy man in their councils and tribunals; where he was listened to as a learned orator of this province; and where his causes were heard with the notable grace that God gave him wherever he went, and with the highest honor in both the said courts. The time will come for recounting his life and death, and then a longer account will be given of his virtues. Suffice it to say for the present that he collected two famous missions for this holy province, which he accompanied to Mexico (which is the rough place in the ascent of the hill), and returned for the third time [to España] for more soldiers – [whom he would have brought] had not the giant footsteps of envious death intercepted him in Sevilla. He entrusted the first mission to one of its religious, namely, father Fray Baltasar de Santa Cruz. They reached Manila safely in August, 1666, and their names in order of age are as follows: father Fray Juan de Velasco, son of [the convent of] San Pedro Martir el Real in Toledo; father Fray Baltasar de Santa Cruz, son of [the convent of] Santa Cruz el Real in Granada, and master of students, who was then in the convent of San Lucar; father Fray Joseph de Isussi, son of the convent of San Pablo in Burgos and fellow of [the convent of] San Gregorio in Valladolid; father Fray Diego Nuñez, son of [the con-

vent of] San Estevan in Salamanca; father Fray Christoval de Montenegro, son of the convent and college of Nuestra Señora del Rosario in Almagro, fellow of Santo Thomas in Sevilla, and teacher of logic there; father Fray Arcadio del Rosario, son of [the convent of] San Pablo in Sevilla, and lecturer in logic there, former fellow of Santo Thomas of Alcalà de Henares (this father remained in Mexico because of illness, and came the following year); father Fray Christoval Pedroche, son of the convent of San Pedro Martir el Real in Toledo; father Fray Juan Romero, son of the convent of San Pablo in Sevilla and fellow of San Gregorio in Valladolid; father Fray Juan de la Cueva, son of [the convent of] Santa Cruz in Granada; father Fray Pedro de Alcalà, son of the same convent in Granada; father Fray Manuel de Mercadillo, son of [the convent of] San Estevan in Salamanca; father Fray Alonso Blasco, son of the convent of Santo Domingo del Campo in Estremadura; father Fray Domingo Perez, son of the convent of Santa Maria de Trianos, fellow of Alcalà [de Henares]; father Fray Juan Peguero, son of the convent of Porta Cœli in Sevilla; father Fray Pedro Ximenez, son of the convent of La Peña de Francia; father Fray Joseph de Solis, son of [the convent of] San Pablo in Palencia; father Fray Francisco de Olmedo, son of the same convent in Palencia; father Fray Pedro Sanchez, son of the convent of La Peña de Francia; father Fray Antonio de San Juan, son of the convent of Santa Cruz in Segovia; father Fray Agustin Garcia de Ortega, son of [the convent of] San Estevan in Salamanca; father Fray Pablo Marchan, son of the same convent of San Estevan; father

Fray Andres Gonzalez, son of the convent of San Pablo in Valladolid; father Fray Bernabe Rodriguez, son of the same convent in Valladolid; father Fray Francisco de Villalva, son of the convent of San Pablo of Burgos; father Fray Pedro de Alarcon, son of the convent of Nuestra Señora de Atocha; father Fray Antonio Rego, son of the convent of San Estevan in Salamanca; father Fray Andres Lopez, son of the convent of San Pedro Martir in Toledo; father Fray Diego de Castro, son of the convent at Santiago in Galicia; father Fray Joseph de San Jacinto, son of the convent of Santa Cruz in Segovia; father Fray Joseph de la Torre, son of the convent of San Pedro Martir in Rio Seco; father Fray Juan de Santo Domingo, son of the convent in Ocaña; father Fray Juan de Santa Maria, son of the convent of San Pedro in Sevilla; father Fray Pedro Gonzalez, son of the convent of Aranda in Duero; father Fray Juan de Castellanos, son of the convent of Santo Domingo in Logroño; father Fray Bernardo de Noriega, son of the convent of San Pablo in Palencia; Fray Antonio de la Purificacion, lay-brother, of the convent of Santa Cruz in Granada; Fray Joseph de la Villalva, lay-brother, son of the convent of San Pablo in Valladolid; Fray Juan Fernando, lay-brother, son of the convent of San Pablo in Burgos, who remained in our hospice of San Jacinto [in Mexico]; and Fray Sebastian del Rosario, lay-brother, son of the said convent of San Jacinto in Mexico. In all they number thirty-nine."

This fine mission came in the ship "La Concepcion," that year of 1666. The same ship also brought

³⁰ Biographical sketches of all these may be found in *Reseña biográfica*, ii, pp. 17-100.

two other missions, one of our father, St. Francis, and the other of the Society of Jesus; two religious of St. John of God, and secular priests; also captains, and very honorable persons – in charge of the commander Joseph de Zamora. The ship was unable to make the Embocadero because the vendavals which had set in prevented it. Therefore it was very fortunate in making the port of Palapa, which is located on the southern side.⁴⁰ They anchored there on the day of St. Lawrence, and it was considered a very special providence of God that they disembarked there on that land, for all arriving in great need and worn out after four months and more of continual navigation, they found, especially the religious, that they had arrived at the land so oft desired and the land of promise. They found in that village, which is in charge of the fathers of the Society, a father rector whose charity challenged the needs of all of them and was victorious. This was the ever venerable father Melchor de los Reyes, a native of Puerto Rico, who, although very poor in that ministry of his, yet settled the difficulty as a very rich man. He lodged eighty religious without even remotely expecting one. He received them all with the ringing of bells, with playing on wind instruments, and music. He supported them abundantly and daintily until boats were found to take them to Manila (which could not be done in a few days). He also succored the ship with rice and other supplies, and with dainties, according to their persons. Ours were the best served, for boats were not found; and although it was thought that the ship could soon pro-

⁴⁰ A port and village on the northern coast of Samar – that is, south of the Embocadero.

ceed upon its voyage, the bad weather was so obstinate that it was unable to sail until March of the following year. Therefore they remained in that holy house with the same satisfaction that they could have had in the most wealthy convent of our order. Sufficiently accommodated in those lodgings, they all said mass; and then those who wished had their breakfast. All the food was supplied abundantly, with the utmost cleanliness and punctuality. They were sheltered in the choir and galleries with great quiet. A pleasant and crystal river flowed near the college, for recreation and bathing. There were books in great abundance, according to the taste of each one. Above all was the affability of the holy religious, and of the others who attended to those residences belonging to their ministry. Truly there are no words to imagine the consolation that the Lord gave there to our tired religious, or the obligation under which all this province remained at so generous charity. The religious who served as superior of Ours, seeing the length of time that they were staying there, and the so excessive expense that was being incurred, although fearful of a bad outcome, finally, to satisfy his ill-founded fear, took one hundred pesos from the scanty hoard of the mission, and resolved to give them to the father rector. They were not sufficient even to cover the cost of the rice, but in the end would be some aid in meeting the expenses. He followed the rector alone into his apartment, and, changing color, after some arguments which he endeavored to offer he concluded by asking pardon, and asked him to please take that trifle to pay at least the porters and cooks, since our mission was detained so long there. The father rector assumed a serious countenance then,

and in brief, sorrowfully proceeded to give the father a severe reproof, by telling him that nothing worthy of payment had been done there; that the father vice-provincial had ordered him to attend to that obligation; that the fathers of his residences had brought the supplies, each in accordance with his several ability; that, thanks to God, nothing was owed to the Indians; that God was giving for everything; and that he rather was the gainer, for, without knowing how, he found his pantries full; that during those days two dugongs had been caught (a thing which had not been seen before since he had been there, for never had those fish been seen there, for it was by a great miracle). Thus did he minimize all that he had done; but our religious, still insisting and placing the hundred pesos on the table, witnessed that the venerable father fell on his knees, and clasping his hands, with tears in his eyes, said to him: "No, no, father, you must not leave that money here for me. I beg that of you in the name of the most holy Virgin. She will not permit your Reverence to give me such affront, at least for the good-will with which I have served you." Thereupon, the religious begged pardon, and kept his money without knowing how to pay that debt, unless it be paid in the divine treasuries of God, for whom it was all done. Our religious went out in seven bands, and for each band the rector solicited a boat, a good pilot, and a store of supplies for some days. All came [to Manila] singing the praises of so religious an Alexander, who was finally reared in so holy a school as that of the Society of Jesus—where, although one is taught all kinds of knowledge so completely, we can say that charity is that which is not taught, because it is inspired. God

will now have paid that pious father, for already has He taken him to himself. The religious consumed two more months in going from Palapa to Manila because of the bad weather. However, they passed almost always through ministries belonging to our father St. Francis, where they found themselves detained and hindered more by the great love with which they were welcomed, and the regret with which they were allowed to depart, than by the roads and the difficulties of travel. They arrived at the desired place at last and were received by the father provincial, then the father commissary, Fray Juan de los Angeles, with that paternal love which his natural affability and his obligation dictated to him. When he saw that they were rested, he began to assign them occupations.

On September 27 of the former year 1665, our most reverend father-general, Fray Juan Bautista de Marinis, wrote a loving and thoughtful letter from Roma to the venerable father Fray Juan Bautista de Morales. That letter reached the province in 1667, and, although the father was dead, it will be proper that so precious a thing – to the credit of the paternal providence of its author, and of the reputation that this noble although so retired a member had gained with the supreme head of the order – shall not perish or be lost; and it is also to the credit of this holy province, for they so hold his name in memory as to honor it through its sons, our supreme heads. The letter reads as follows: "Reverend father in Christ: Health, and grace from the Holy Ghost. The news that I have received from the father provincial of that our province of the Filipinas is a great consolation to me. He gives me news of your Reverence's

health, and of the perseverance with which you are aiding in those conversions without any relaxation to your labors in your so advanced age. I thank the Lord therefor, from whom comes all good; and applying to your Reverence the sufferings of all the order, and giving you the benediction of our glorious St. Dominic, I thank you again and again for having served in our ministry for the conversion of souls, which is the object of our institute, and which your Reverence and your companions are, with the divine grace, accomplishing. Forty-two religious sailed in the mission which left Cadiz on July 5 of this year, for which the father lecturer, Fray Juan Polanco, procurator of the province, worked zealously and diligently. The consolation that I have had in the selection of those missionaries will increase if your Reverence will take them under your teaching, and encourage and exhort them so that, as sons of so good a father, they may give bread to those who, desirous of spiritual sustenance, beg it. May God please that it be so, for such is my desire. In regard to the labors of government, it will relieve us to receive letters from your Reverence, and to have news of the progress of so loving sons as it has been God's pleasure to give me. I have sent breviaries and a formulary of devotion to the twelve associates of your Reverence, which is as a token of my love, so that you may be mindful of me in your prayers, and ask God to give me the success that I desire in the fulfilment of my obligation. I am sending to your Reverence documents containing the many thanks that the holy apostolic see has given us; and I inform you that his Holiness in our Lord, Alexander VII, who is auspiciously governing this Church, is granting us very

loving favors; and I hope to receive even greater ones from his munificence. I shall give him an account of the extensive labors of your Reverence, and of the happiness that we may expect because an entrance has been made into the island Hermosa, whence the passage to China and to Japon will be facilitated. May God continually preserve and accompany your Reverence and all those my sons – to whom I say that the cause of the holy martyrs of Japon is proceeding felicitously;⁴¹ and that I hope that the laurel of their martyrdom will be a motive to the others, so that, if it should prove necessary for the maintenance of our holy faith to suffer as martyrs they may do so with gladness. Roma, September 27, 1665.

“FRAY JUAN BAUTISTA DE MARINIS, master of the order.”

This is the letter written ex-officio by the general of the order to a poor missionary under him, giving place to this care before so many and imperative cares as claim his attention – so that one may see even in this life the honors that God has prepared for those who are employed in so apostolic an occupation.

In the year 1667, on the day of the immaculate conception of our Lady, December 8, the most illustrious doctor Don Miguel de Poblete, archbishop of Manila, died in that city, to the universal sorrow of all these islands; for during the time of fourteen years while he had occupied the see, he acted as the loving father and pastor of his church. He was a very ami-

⁴¹ Alluding to the process of canonization for the Japanese martyrs, then before the proper authorities at Rome. For description of this process, see Addis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary*, pp. 113, 114.

able man, pious, and possessed of great charity; for notwithstanding the poverty of this archbishopric, and its dependence upon the condition of a royal treasury that is so poor and has so many creditors, he gave liberal alms, which he took from the sustenance of his own person, his household, and his family. He was very anxious for the building of his cathedral, which he found completely ruined since the earthquakes. With grave importunity and the amount that his Majesty ordered to be paid to him, he left a church that was very sumptuous (as much so as these islands permit), almost finished. It has three naves, all of free stone and rubble-work masonry. It was finished a short time after his death; and its venerable dean and cabildo occupied it to the great consolation and credit of the city. On the day of his death occurred the ceremony of taking the oath of allegiance to the king our sovereign, Carlos Second;⁴² and God made that occasion propitious for us, for with that his venerable body, embalmed, was exposed for three days, and the faithful had time to go with tearful piety to say farewell to their most loving shepherd, whose hands and feet they kissed until he was buried with due pomp. It was the common report, and an established fact, that he died a virgin, and beloved to the utmost degree⁴³ for his so beautiful virtue. This and his piety, not at all embarrassed by personal con-

⁴² Spanish, *jura publicada*. Felipe IV had died on September 17, 1665; and he was succeeded by the infant Carlos II, who reigned (under the regency of his mother, Mariana of Austria, until his fifteenth year) until the end of the seventeenth century.

⁴³ Spanish, *amantisimo por extremo*. Dominguez says (*Diccionario nacional*) that *amantisimo* is used, in mystical and erotic language, in the sense of *muy amado* ("greatly beloved"); our text here implies that Poblete was very dear, on account of his purity, to God and the Virgin Mary.

siderations, were sufficient to compose a palm⁴⁴ for him; and after it was placed it appeared very fitting. God will give his fame a special history, as ours cannot go into greater detail.

In those two years God took from us valuable associates of long experience, who served this holy province much by their example and work for the welfare of the Indians. Father Fray Juan de Arjona, son of the convent of San Pablo el Real in Cordova, [was one]. He had been occupied with great earnestness in the ministries of Pangasinan and Ytui, and there he performed great deeds for the service of God, as those ministries were new. He died at an advanced age in the convent of Santo Domingo in Manila. Father Fray Juan Pabon, native of Montaruches in Estremadura, son of the convent at Truxillo in the province of España, was most accomplished in the language of Nueva Segovia, and suffered great hardships in the conversion of the Indians of Irraya and in the administration of other villages. The love and respect of all who came in contact with him was very great; and the province entrusted to him many posts of honor, and grieved not a little at his death, for he was a model for ministers, and in every respect a pattern of his obligation.

⁴⁴ The palm was a symbol of victory and triumph – in religious language, especially of triumph over the infernal powers; and, by extension, of virginity.

CHAPTER XLII

*Of the intermediary junta of the year sixty-seven;
and of other news of this period of our history*

On April thirty of the year 1667 was held and celebrated the intermediary junta [in the term] of the father commissary Fray Juan de los Angeles, in our convent of Santo Domingo in Manila – and with new vigor because of the fervor imparted to the province by the fresh nourishment received from its late reënforcement. They proceeded to arrange the ministries, and one more which it seemed advisable to separate, namely, San Miguel at Orion, in the district of Bataan. After knowing the new soldiers for a year, the old and new stones were assigned to their places in order to render this spiritual edifice firm and beautiful. The new rules made were but few, but they were very carefully thought out. The first was that no inferior or subordinate official of the order should visit or write to the alcaldes and superiors of the provinces, and least of all to the governor, without first making known his intention and explaining it to the father provincial – or, in his absence, to the vicars-provincial – respectively. That was and ought to be a necessary measure; and the attempt to carry out the decisions that each minister reaches in his seclusion may be the cause of greater troubles. We must not make a passion of our zeal for defending the Indians, for that is a virtue that essentially demands to be moderated by prudence. An angry letter, or (what is worse) a visit, founded perhaps on a misrepresentation, generally disquiets a superior. He, in his own opinion offended, is vexed; and the Indians themselves, and the rest of the reli-

gious, are wont to pay doubly [for the intrusion]. Consequently, it is proper that such matters be managed with much caution and in accordance with obedience, and in the council [of the order], keeping in view the object, which must be the first aim of every good intention. Everyone does what he is able in his ministry and profession, and the apostle says that we should give offense to no one. The heads of the province, being in an exalted position, discover many things and efficient remedies for all troubles; and hence it is necessary to place such affairs in their hands. For the same reason and one greater, that junta repeats the order that no one should preach against the government and the persons busied in it without consulting with the same superiors. For that means consultation with God, because words are very important in that most lofty and consecrated place – where by favor of the sovereign principles of a wisdom whose master is the fear of God, and general doctrines, one may say whatever there is to say. Our father San Vicente Ferrer did not preach more than the judgment, but he reformed the world, kings, and chiefs. And only a St. John the Baptist, who by credit of his virtue pointed out with his finger a divine Person, could point out from the pulpit a person so wicked and scandalous as a Herod; for the latter was, in fine, king, and his dignity protected him. God placed our superiors in their positions (and kings rule through God) and gave that honor to their councils and magistracies; and consequently it is proper for ministers to honor them without flattery (which is another and worse extreme) without curbing them with salt, and with respect where the community does not feel it – so that by preaching to the

people at large, they will know where their pain is. We have already touched on this point in another place; but, since our province repeats it so often in its ordinances, the historian is also permitted to repeat it, since it is advice so important. A petition was addressed to our most reverend father not to allow dispensations to be introduced into our provinces, nor anything that savored of [differences between] individuals or degrees. For since it had seemed to his paternal piety that the procurators-general who went from this province to those of Europa had immense work therein, he planned to grant to them officially some sort of reward, by conferring on them the rank of the more recent fathers of the province. Receiving this favor with submission and gratitude, they nevertheless protested in this junta against it. At the same time Don Fray Juan de Polanco made a humble resistance in Roma, as he knew that the order had already been sent. But he obtained that new favor from our most reverend father; and, before our petition arrived, the said grace was revoked.

In the following year of 1668 two relief ships reached these islands, which came from Nueva España. In one of them came father Fray Antonio Calderon, who had obtained permission to return to España the preceding year, because of illness. But later, as he regained strength in Nueva España, and as he knew the lack that one religious makes here, and the need of the province, he was filled with no small doubt, seeing that this was coming to be a second vocation. Therefore, he determined to return, and did so; and entered the province for the second time with great courage and went to his ministries in Nueva Segovia, where he is and was an excellent

linguist. The devil is very subtle, and, because he sees the evil that is caused him by this province, he causes sickness, and makes sufferings greater than what they are in themselves. Since also the magnanimous nature of man falls short, and he takes it ill to see himself set in a land like this – as shut out from intercourse and repose as contrary to the liberty of our España – with the little attention given to him, he imagines insuperable hardships in the rules, aggravates his sickness in so great retirement; and by a door that is lawful, he disturbs the common cause and even endangers that of the individual. The said father now found himself strong, and consequently chose to return, to exercise his strength in this his province. In the other ship came father Fray Arcadio del Rosario, who had, as we have remarked above, remained in Mexico sick, and was now coming very strong and well – to a place where the only consolations and pleasures that went out to meet him were a peril and sudden catastrophe, which would have been the last had not God aided him almost miraculously. Because of the difficulty that the ship had in entering the strait or Embocadero of San Bernardino – and those difficulties are very great and usual in those seas in that season – the father took a small boat called a caracoa; and, embarking in it with a father visitor-commissary of our father St. Francis, who was coming as visitor, and another, his associate, with rowers and other Spanish passengers, they tried to cross the strait, in order to continue their course to Manila more quickly than they could by the ship, if they waited for it. Those boats are not only swift but weak, and, in order to give them greater safety, some long timbers are crossed at intervals over the sides;

at the ends of these they suitably place some bamboo sails called *cates*, so that, by thus making the vessel wider, they may better resist the waves and sustain them. They were beginning their crossing, which is a distance of about six leguas, and in the very middle of it so strong a gust of wind struck them, as well as so opposing currents – which, in those regions, are such that they will turn a ship of high free-board clear around, with or without favorable winds, moving it from side to side and disarranging the [trim of the] sails, with the accompanying horror that only sailors can imagine – that that boat (for it was not even a *patache*, but a very weak vessel) capsized, because of the currents and the violent wind that they encountered in the midst of the open expanse, after a few contrary blasts, and filled with water. It was the Lord's will that the buffeting of the sea should soon strip it of weight, carrying away whatever it contained. Thereupon the men in it remained astride of the said timbers and *cates*, and many of them were up to their breasts in water, rigging it. In such wise they allowed themselves to drift along with the said current, wherever it chose to take them, sustained only on those timbers poorly fastened together with rattan. Night came; day followed; and in all that time they were unable to make the land – on the contrary, the currents carried them away from it. When they got out of one current they were seized by one opposed to it, so that they were continually going round and round in those waters. Father Fray Arcadio, who was still convalescent, suffered the most; and doubtless would soon have given up, had it not been for the said father commissary. A bamboo enclosure was made as well as possible on those tim-

bers and there the father found some retreat from the water, mainly in the arms of the said father commissary. The latter's name was Fray Antonio Godinez, son of the religious province of San Diego in Mexico. With the same suffering did they pass the following night – without water to drink in the midst of so much water, nor more food than a few grains of rice, which the wrath of so rigorous a fortune that assailed those miserable beings had forgotten. At last, on the third day, the Lord, as a Father of mercy, listened to them and they reached the land; where, more beaten by the waves of the sea than assisted by what the rowers could do, they reached the sacred sand in a stripped condition. Three men were drowned, who tried to quit the boat too soon, and the sea made them pay for their ingratitude with their lives; for their weakness had already forbidden them [from reaching land]. It is always a rule of sailors that only wood can swim on such occasions. All is as God ordains; but already deposit was made of life, and a good account, by means of his Majesty, must be given. Our religious landed, or rather those who shared his fortunes drew him ashore half dead. But the land performed its miracles, and they hastened to the first village, where they all recovered and were despatched to Manila. The pious commissary lost there all the papers of his commission, so that, when he reached the province, great difficulties were raised, and he returned without making his visit. Father Fray Arcadio reached this our province, where he was gladly received, and the prelate assigned him to the study of the Chinese language, in which he took the courses that will be related at the end of this chapter.

[The provincial receives a letter dated Roma, Feb-

ruary 19, 1668, from the father-general of the order, Juan Bautista de Marinis, in which concessions to the order by Pope Clement IX are related. The beatified Luis Beltran and Mother Rosa de Santa Maria have been canonized; universal prayer *ad libitum* to San Vicente Ferrer has been conceded; and other concessions of general importance to the order are granted. August 1, 1673, four religious embark for the Chinese missions – namely, Arcadio del Rosario, Pedro de Alcala, Pedro de Alarcon, and Alonso de Cordova. The rough weather experienced causes the superstitious Chinese crew to imagine that it is caused by the fathers; but after many hardships China is finally reached in twenty-four days. After various adventures they return to Manila, May 4, 1674. Two Dominican religious, namely, Arcadio del Rosario and Francisco Lujan, and two Franciscans, namely, Miguel Flores and Pedro de Piñuelo, sail for China on Corpus Christi day, 1676.]

At the same time, religious are being occupied in two glorious missions in this same island of Manila. One near the city, to the north, is to the Zambals, whom we have not yet been able to subdue. Now two of our religious are there, and are bringing in those of the mountains to form villages. They possess churches and many of the people are converted. The religious write that they have been received very well, and it is hoped that this will be a grand work for the service of God and for these islands, for those people are very courageous and bloodthirsty, and have always done great harm to those who go to other provinces and to the villages near them; and, if the faith of Christ once subjects them, great advantages present themselves for all. The other mission is located in the same region, in the province of Nueva Segovia,

in the district of the mountains called Irraya, of which this history has already given repeated notices. Most of those people are heathen, although there are many Christians among them who have fled from our villages. They have been subdued at times, but their misfortune has immediately roused them to rebellion. Now we are considering how to attract them by love, and with security; and our religious are moving alone in this matter, with none of the horrors that soldiers bring. Consequently, we trust that they too will be subdued. Such is our special vocation in this holy province, where we profess especially to fight the wars of God. And thus as the good soldier loses spirit when peace is declared, and is inspirited at the rumor of a battle, it is an evident fact that these spiritual soldiers are aroused to unusual ardor when the arms of the missions are in use, just as the silence of these voices depresses them. And, if their sufferings and efforts reached at least half as far as do their desires, there would be no province in Asia now which had not yielded to God and to His holy faith in accordance with the honorable designs with which the beautiful sky of these islands inspires them.

This news has been anticipated, because it is so recent; but the history only relates matters to 1669, so that the third part ⁴⁵ will begin with the provincial chapter celebrated on May 11 of the said year, when the reverend father Fray Juan Camacho was elected provincial.

[The chapter ends with the recital of certain benefits that have been received by the order at large, in canonizations, beatifications, etc.]

⁴⁵ *i.e.*, the third part of the Dominican history, written by father Fray Vicente de Salazar, O. P. (Manila, 1742), and treating of events from 1661 to 1690.



Map of the Philippine Islands, showing province of the Order
of the Hermits of St. Augustine; from Lubin's *Orbis*
Augustianus . . . ordinis eremitarum Sancti
Augustini (Paris, 1639)
[From copy in Library of Congress]

THE AUGUSTINIANS IN THE PHILIPPINES, 1641-70

Book second of the second part of "Conquests of the Filipinas Islands and chronicle of the religious of our father St. Augustine."

CHAPTER XXXV

Of the second election to the provincialate of father Fray Gerónimo Medrano, and the life and death of Archbishop Don Hernando Guerrero.

As there are no events worth mentioning in the year 1640, outside of what we have noticed in the prosecution of the war with the Sangleys, let us pass to the year 1641. On the nineteenth of April of that year was celebrated the provincial chapter, which was presided over by father Fray Juan de Trejo,⁴⁶ the senior definator of the former chapter. Father Fray Gerónimo de Medrano was elected for the second time as provincial. The defintors elected were father Fray Juan Gallegos, Fray Pedro Mexia,⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Juan de Trezo (so called by Pérez) was a native of Extremadura, and became prior of the convents of Santo Niño de Cebú (1620) and of Otón (1623). He ministered in the villages of Taal (1631), Sala (1633), Taguig (1635), and Malolos (1636); and was definator (1638), president of the capitular province (1641), and minister of Otón and Caruyan (1644-45). He died in 1650. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 91.

⁴⁷ Pedro Mejía was a native of La Mancha, and professed in

Fray Diego de Ordás; and Fray Diego Tamayo.⁴⁸ The visitors were fathers Fray Felipe Tallada and Fray Cristóbal Enríquez.⁴⁹ Very suitable ministers were stationed in all the villages of this province, as it had then a great plenty of religious.

[Here follow accounts of the wars in Mindanao and Joló, and the founding of the royal College of San Felipe by Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, both of which are treated elsewhere.]

After the archbishop, Don Fray Hernando, had governed his church of Manila during his time with the troubles and anxiety that have been mentioned in their proper place, and many others which afterward continued to exercise his patience and tolerance (which, to one of his many years, were a great weight to place on him at the end of his life), he fell sick from various accidents, which prostrated him in a short time and reduced him to his last illness. This occurred during his visitation of the village of Bala-

the convent of Valladolid. He became prior of Guadalupe in 1621 and was later definitor and visitor. He was also minister of Narvacan in 1611, and of the Tagalog villages of Calumpit, Bauan and Guiguinto until his death in 1659. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, pp. 94, 95.

⁴⁸ Diego Tamayo was a native of La Mancha, and professed in Andalucía. He was subprior of the convent of Manila in 1635, procurator-general in 1636, minister of Bacolor in 1638, prior of Manila in 1647, and definitor in 1650. Pérez says that he was again incorporated with his province in 1682. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 109.

⁴⁹ Cristóbal Enríquez, a native of Cáceres, was minister in the villages of Dumalag (1620) and San Pedro (Antique; 1627) – being later transferred to the province of Tagalos, where he ministered in Batangas, Tanaoan, and Baoan (1635, 1639, 1645, and 1648), passing thence to Tambobong, Sala, Bigaá, and lastly to Malolos (1650). He acted as definitor, assistant counselor (*discreto*) of the province, and commissary-procurator in Madrid; and died in Trujillo in 1659. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 94.

yán, where he had remained a long time busied in the confirmations of that entire province. The vigilant prelate was unwilling to lay aside his bodily labors, as he was by nature very active. He celebrated mass every day, until his attendant, recognizing that his illness was becoming aggravated, induced him to retire to Manila in order to take better care of his health. He reached the city in the middle of May, where he was shortly prostrated by his illness which made the physicians think that he was going to end his days very soon. All the remaining days left to him, he busied himself fervently in preparing for his last hour, abstracting himself in religious thought during all the time that either the care of his medicine or the compliance of his attendants permitted. But, coming to the last pass, he ordered that all the holy sacraments be given to him. He received them in public with great fervor, and to the edification of all the people. The people were very sorry to lose a shepherd so zealous for the welfare of souls, who had suffered so much to defend the immunity of the Church. Day and night was his archiepiscopal palace never free from the religious, who loved him dearly as the defender and protector of them all. Not less was the sorrow of the cabildo, who loved him as a true father; for although he had had various conflicts with them, he was their consolation and defense as well as that of the clergy, among whom he performed all the offices of love and piety possible. He succored the poor and sheltered the needy clerics, for he was very zealous for the honor of the ecclesiastics. Finally, laden with merits and years, he rendered up his soul to his Creator, July 1, 1641, at one o'clock at night, at the age of more than seventy.

His death caused general sorrow to all, especially to those who had borne most part in the sorrow that that great prelate had experienced.

Don Fray Hernando Guerrero was a native of the town of Alcaraz, although Doctor Juan Pérez de Montalbán represents him as born in Madrid. He was the legitimate son of Don Fernando Guerrero and of Doña Isabel de la Barreta, both of noble blood. He received the habit of our holy religion in the convent of San Felipe in Madrid, where he professed July 26, 1588, during the priorship of father Fray Antonio de Velasco. Later he came to these islands in the year 1595 with the mission that was sent from España by father Fray Francisco de Ortega—who died afterward in Mexico, when returning as the ambassador of King Don Felipe II to the emperor of China. He was minister of the provinces of Tagalos, where he built the convent of Tagui; it was a magnificent work before it suffered ruin in the earthquakes of 1645, which overthrew the most sumptuous edifices. He obtained the most honorable posts in the order next to the provincialate, as a reward for his great merits; and, had he not been presented by his Majesty as bishop of Nueva Segovia, he would also have filled the post of provincial. That was due to his many services to this province; for he went to España twice and brought over two excellent missions of religious. Special mention is made of this archbishop by the father master Fray Tomás de Herrera, on folio 243 of the first part of his *Alfabeto Agustiniiano* [*i.e.*, "Augustinian Alphabet"]; and on folio 297 of chapter 43 of the first part of the history of our convent of Salamanca. He is said to have re-

ceived despatches to act as governor of these islands, although that is not clear to me. It may be true that he had a decree to act as governor *ad interim*; but as there was no vacancy in the government of these islands, he never had occasion to use that favor. In a rare book preserved in manuscript in the treasury of the holy cathedral church of Manila, on the lives and deeds of the archbishops of the city, there is a very long relation of the government of Don Fray Hernando Guerrero and of his great sufferings in defense of the ecclesiastical immunity. Speaking of his death, the following is added:

"His death was greatly regretted, for the poor loved him dearly for the many great alms that he gave them both publicly and in secret. The rich esteemed him, for, besides his being very courteous and kind, they never gave him anything, however little, that was not recompensed with something greater. The orders venerated him, because the delicacy with which he gained the good-will of all was extreme; and he obtained that by his paternal affection and affability. Although his cabildo showed him little kindness, he did not for that reason cease to esteem them. He succored the poor presbyters and the clergy by giving them alms sufficient to clothe themselves; for he sorrowed excessively at seeing that they did not have the proper vestments. He bought them bits of silk and *chanlés* for cassocks and cloaks, so that they might appear properly. He bought some houses, very elegant in their time, on the square of this city, and fitted them up for the archiepiscopal palace; but, as his debts were so heavy that he could not pay for them, they were bought after his death

by Manuel Estacio Venegas,⁵⁰ who made them into a palace, in which the governors and captains-general now live.⁵¹ That prelate was an excellent man in all ways; and his disgrace resulted from the adverse fortune that he experienced – although he well merited the crown with which God must have rewarded him, because of the great prudence and patience with which he bore himself, while he was never heard to utter a harsh or hasty word. The cause of that was, that it fell to his lot to rule [the church] during the government of Governor Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera, a gentleman well known to be capricious and hard to deal with – who by his natural severity and harshness greatly harassed that prelate. But his greatest glory (worthy of all applause) was the fact that he suffered in defense of the immunity of his church; so that we may properly and with acclamation give him the aureole of martyrdom, and chant a song of victory for that holy warrior,⁵² the defense of the Manila church. His funeral was celebrated with due ceremony and he was buried amid tears and grief in the convent of his great father St. Augustine in this city of Manila; and his body was

⁵⁰ Manuel Estacio Venegas had been regidor of Manila, and became later master-of-camp (see Pastells's *Colin*, pp. 487, 493). He became the favorite of Governor Diego Fajardo y Chacón, who allowed him to exercise great power, in which he proved himself to be an arbitrary and cruel man. Finally the eyes of the governor were opened to his character; and he was arrested September 16, 1651, and died in prison. See Montero y Vidal's *Hist. de Filipinas*, i, pp. 266, 290, 291. See also Concepción's *Hist. de Philipinas*, vi, pp. 195, 297-301, where a dark picture is drawn of Venegas's venality.

⁵¹ Buzeta and Bravo say (*Diccionario*, ii, p. 219) that this edifice was reconstructed about 1690, being greatly enlarged.

⁵² Spanish, *Guerrero* – a play upon his name, which signifies "warrior."

placed in the presbytery of the high altar at the gospel side. He ruled that archbishopric for five years, eleven months, and nine days. He was grave of aspect and spare in figure, of good proportion and stature, somewhat bald and hair somewhat curly. He was temperate in his eating, indeed eating very little. He spent much time in vigils. In his conversation he was very affable. He slept on the ground, the bed that he had – well furnished with handsome coverlets, on account of his dignity – remaining untouched. In short, he was in all things a perfect prelate.” . . .

Third book of the second part of the “Conquests of the Filipinas Islands and chronicle of the religious of our father St. Augustine.”

CHAPTER FIRST

Provincial chapter; the arrival of Governor Don Diego Fajardo; and death of Don Fray Pedro de Arce.

Father Fray Gerónimo de Medrano had governed this province with great success during his second triennium, and all were sorry when his term ended, and were desirous to have his life last so that he might be elected for the third time, as happened after in the year 1650; for that religious, who was so worthy of that office, left a great memory to posterity of his exalted virtue and prudence. Thus, the time prescribed by our holy rules having arrived, the provincial chapter of this province was celebrated April 16, 1644, in the convent of San Pablo at Manila. Father Master Fray Teófilo Mascarós presided at that

chapter by the letters-patent of our very reverend father master, Fray Hipólito de Monte-final, general of all our holy order. Master Fray Alonso Carvajal, the oracle of these islands at that time, was elected provincial. The definitors were fathers Fray Alonso de Lara,⁵³ Fray Antonio Gimenez, Fray Cristóbal de León,⁵⁴ and Fray Alonso Quijano.⁵⁵ The visitors were fathers Fray Juan Gallegos, and the lecturer was Fray Diego de Ochoa.⁵⁶

In the ship that came from Nueva España that year, came as governor Don Diego Fajardo Chacón, knight of the Order of Santiago, an illustrious scion of the house of the Marqués de los Velez, and nephew of Governor Don Alonso Fajardo y Tenza. That gentleman had been reared in the family of the most serene prince, Manuel Filiberto, the duke of Saboya,

⁵³ Alonso de Lara was subprior of the convent of Manila in 1638, prior of the convent of Guadalupe in 1641, definitor of the province in 1643, procurator-general in 1648, and minister of Guagua in 1650. He died in 1651. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 109.

⁵⁴ Cristóbal de León was a native of Galicia, and went to the Philippines in 1628. He was minister of Tagudin (1635 and 1638), Narvacán and Batác (1642), and Laoag (1647). From the last village he went to the villages of Bay (1650, 1659), Taal (1654), Tondo (1656, 1665), and Bulacán (1662). He was definitor and procurator-general in 1641, and died in Manila in 1668. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 109.

⁵⁵ Alonso Quijano, a native of Corral de Almaguér in La Mancha, was an excellent linguist in the Bisayan, and served in the missions of Dunangas (1632), Jaro (1633), Laglag (1635), and Panay (1638). He was definitor in 1644, provincial in 1656, prior of the convent of Guadalupe in 1659-62, and provincial again in 1665. His death occurred in 1667. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 108.

⁵⁶ Diego de Ochoa was a son of the convent of San Felipe el Real in Madrid, and lecturer on sacred theology in his province. After going to the Philippines he became minister of the villages of México (1638), Macabebe (1641), and Betis (1644), being also visitor for some time. He died in the year 1648. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 113.

whose captain of the guard he had been.⁵⁷ Later by various promotions acquired by his valor in war, he came to be governor of Perpiñán and afterward of the Terceras Islands. He was a gentleman of great abilities, which, had they not been accompanied by an excessive severity, uncommunicativeness, and too great rigor in his punishments, would have rendered him equal to the greatest governors, not only of these islands but of the whole world. For he was very intelligent in military affairs, but chaste, truthful, and modest, and so free from anything that can touch covetousness that in that respect he rather resembled a most observant religious than a military gentleman; for he was never known and he never presumed to receive anything – not only no jewel of value, but not even a present of any food. He began to govern August 16 and remained nine years in the government, during which the citizens suffered many misfortunes and many annoyances; for that so upright and honorable gentleman, having surrendered to the dictum of one single private individual, an oldtime citizen of Manila, disappointed the many pledges that the post of governor has a right to claim. As soon as he assumed the government, he moved the Parián of the Sangleys to its present site. It had no greater accommodations than before, but he was ordered to do so by a royal decree. He ordered that a considerable sum which the governors received from

⁵⁷ A reference perhaps to the grandson of Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy (who died August 30, 1580) – who bore the same name, and the titles chevalier of Malta, grand prior of Castile and León, prince of Oneille, viceroy of Sicily, and commander of sea-forces for the king of Spain, whose nephew he was. His death occurred in 1624 at the age of thirty-six. Moreri mentions no duke of Savoy by this name in that period. See Moreri's *Dictionnaire*.

the gains of the Sangleys in gambling be placed in the treasury. Those are the most sinful receipts that are deposited in the royal treasury in these islands, and the cause, to the sorrow of many, of the little benefit arising from the many sums that enter by other channels this public treasury of Filipinas. That sinful practice thus introduced, lasted a considerable time, the selfish interest of the very persons who should have checked this evil causing them to ignore the many difficulties [resulting from it], until his Majesty Don Felipe V ordered those [gambling] games to be suppressed, because of the report of the archbishop, Don Diego Camacho y Avila. In the residencia of his predecessor, Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera, Don Diego Fajardo conducted himself so uprightly that because of the charges that resulted from it, he imprisoned the former in the redoubt of Santiago for five years, until order was sent by his Majesty to send Don Sebastián to España, which was done."⁵⁸

The ship that sailed for Nueva España that year put back, after having suffered great storms, thus commencing the disasters and hardships that have followed during these latter years. The ship "San Diego" also put back to Cavite, because the Dutch enemy had entered the Embocadero of San Bernardino – returning to Cavite, where it served as a great defense against the Dutch in the year 1647, as will be seen. The threats of the coming of the Dutch were

⁵⁸ The Dominicans resolved in a council called by their provincial September 11, 1644, not to bring any charges against Corcuera, but to pardon the affronts he had given them. "The friars hated Corcuera for his partiality to the Jesuits." See Montero y Vidal's *Hist. de Filipinas*, i, pp. 265, 266. Cf. Ferrando's *Hist. de los PP. Dominicos*, ii, pp. 451, 452.

heard continually; and we in the islands were very anxious because of their new proximity in the island of Hermosa, a suitable way-station for any purpose. As was learned later by advices from Jacatra in the former year 1643, they had been waiting the ships from Acapulco in the Embocadero of San Bernardino, until they could not withstand the violent storms of that year. All their plans were to descend upon Manila and drive the Spaniards from this archipelago. A double reënforcement of men had been sent from Holanda for that purpose, and a greater number of small vessels, besides the two hundred ships with high freeboard that they had in these seas, scattered from the cape of Buena Esperanza to the island Hermosa. Although forewarned for any of these things that might happen, Don Diego Fajardo began to do less than he ought; for he kept himself in seclusion the greater part of the time, and would not give that personal attention to the management of affairs which a government so extensive demanded. That was given to the charge of a private individual, to whom he had given the management of everything to suit himself; and that was the cause of great misfortunes. For the first undertaking was to place the necessary boats in the shipyard; and thus, when the occasion arrived, there was so scanty forces collected that the happy success of our arms against the Dutch was clearly a miracle.

One of the first precautions was to send Don Francisco de Atienza y Báñez, a native of Toledo and a soldier of excellent judgment, as governor to Zamboanga, so that he might by his prudence procure a settled peace with the Mindanaos – who, being domestic enemies, had greatly diverted the Spanish

arms in curtailing their pride. A peace was easily obtained with the Moro king, Corralat, for he had been greatly frightened by the past successes of the Spaniards. The forts of Joló were in great part occupied by soldiers, but the batteries were not in condition to be deserted, for it was presumed that the Dutch were about to assault them – as happened afterward in June of the year 1648, although with less benefit than they believed they would have in the beginning. Consequently, it was necessary to preserve them on that occasion, although peace had been obtained in the year 1646 with their natives by means of the same Captain Don Francisco de Atienza. Thus the Spanish arms were somewhat more free for anything that might happen. However, when the Moros afterward beheld us involved in greater anxiety with our defense against the Dutch (who were so hostile to us during the years of 1646 and 47), they began again to invade the islands with their piratical raids, and infested the province of Pintados, where they pillaged and captured.

[In 1645 occurred the death of the prominent Augustinian, Pedro de Arce, who had arrived in the Philippines shortly after 1580 in a mission brought by Andrés de Aguirre. The remainder of the chapter is taken up with his life.]

CHAPTER II

Events of the year 1645, and of the band of religious who came to this province, and of the earthquakes which occurred that year.

The year 1645 was disastrous for these islands – so much so, that to this day the misfortunes with which that year ended are bewailed; and together with that

the beauty of the edifices that made Manila celebrated among the most sightly cities, as its ruins, the shapeless skeleton of its beauty, proclaim it at present. The origin of those misfortunes is reserved alone for the divine judgment, but much could be conjectured if one saw the hold that vices had taken on this community. However, let us venerate the divine decrees, and not examine the secrets of His divine justice.

The two ships "Encarnación" and "Rosario," which were expected from Nueva España that year with the reënforcements, arrived as by a miracle in July. The flagship anchored at the port of Lampón after having escaped three Dutch warships which had sailed from the Hermosa Island to take that prize. In order to assure their enterprise, they were strung out from the cape of Espiritu Santo to the Embocadero of San Bernardino. But the divine Mercy willed that they were not to obtain their evil purpose, for our ships did not sight the cape. By means of some advices which the alcalde-mayor of Leite sent in light vessels, the flagship received notice and deflected its voyage to Lampón. Some say that it discovered one of the hostile ships near Palapag, and believing that some Spanish ships had come from Cavite to escort them, the ship held on its course to the Embocadero. The Dutch ship pursued it, by which Cristóbal Márquez de Valenzuela, who was commander of the vessel, recognized them as enemies and prepared to fight. The Dutch ship overtook them and fired a piece to make them lower sail and surrender. Cristóbal Márquez having seen that, and that there was no other recourse, waited until the enemy was nearer, when he fired some pieces at it—with so great accuracy that the Dutch vessel consid-

cred itself too weak to prosecute that undertaking alone, and retired. Our flagship continued its fortunate voyage to Lampón.

The Dutch left that position with the purpose of assembling all three ships together. During that time and ten days later, came the almiranta, ignorant of what had happened. Having met an advice-boat of the alcalde of Leite, which communicated the fact that the Dutch enemy was in the Embocadero of San Bernardino waiting to catch them, the almiranta put in at Palapag, and both galleons were saved as by a miracle. Doctor Don Fernando Montero came to these islands in the said flagship. He was a native of Burgos and the consecrated archbishop of Manila; he was a man of great learning, and one celebrated as an eminent preacher. He had been a preacher to his Majesty, and, while he was exercising the honored post of chief chaplain of the royal discalced nuns of Madrid, he was given appointment as bishop of Nueva Segovia; but while in Nueva España, already consecrated and about to embark, his promotion to the archbishopric of Manila arrived. But God did not permit Manila to gain so great a prelate, for he died suddenly in the village of Pila, located on the lake of Bay, when they were awaiting in Manila to receive him with triumphal procession. His dead body arrived, and was brought in by the same gate whence his predecessor, Don Fray Hernando Guerrero, had gone in exile; and this occurred on the same day of Thursday, and in the same month and at the same hour, exactly nine years after that tragedy, which is still so greatly bewailed. Thus the chimes, which were expected to be joyful, were changed into sadness twice over, and all the preparation became

gloom. The church of Manila was widowed for eight years more, until the year 1653, when Archbishop Don Miguel de Poblete entered. They buried Archbishop Don Fernando Montero in the cathedral, above the steps of the high altar, at the side of Archbishop Don Fray Miguel de Benavides.

A band of fourteen religious arrived at this province that year. They had been conducted by the father lecturer, Fray Pedro de Quesada, who died in Méjico. They entered Manila, and were received as sons of this province on August 7, 1645.

Father Fray Luis de Amezquita,⁵⁹ a native of Alba de Tormes – a son of the convent of San Felipe in Madrid, where he received the habit of our holy order in the year 1641 – came also on that occasion. He was a religious of great virtue, and a man of the first magnitude; and one could write many chapters of his marvelous life, his austere penitence, his continual prayer, and his extraordinary death. I feel great sorrow that the sequence of time cannot be anticipated so that somewhat of the great favors that God gave to that grand servant of His during this life can be published. During his life he was the wonder of all who had known him in the years of his youth, when he was more given to the pastimes of the world and the vigor of youth, before God called him to the aus-

⁵⁹ Luis de Amezquita studied Greek under the Jesuits. He was admitted to the Augustinian convent of San Felipe el Real where he took his vows in 1641. Arriving at the Philippines in 1645, he labored in the Tagalog villages of Bauan (1650), Tiaong (1654), Tanauan (1656), Batangas (1659-65), Caruyan and Sala (1662), and again in Tanauan (1666). He died at Manila June 26, 1667, at the age of forty-five, leaving several writings, including a catechism in the native language, sermons, and certain commentaries. The catechism has been printed. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, pp. 119, 120.

terity and extraordinary mode of life which he observed for ten years constantly until his death. That event was hastened by the austere penance which he continued until it came. God took him to himself in the forty-sixth year of his age, June 26, 1667, he himself having pointed out beforehand the day and hour of his happy transition.

[The balance of this chapter and the following one deal with the disastrous earthquake of 1645, and earthquakes in general. Chapters iv, v, and vi treat of the troubles with the Dutch. These matters are sufficiently covered in VOL. XXXVI (*q. v.*).]

CHAPTER VII

Of the provincialate of our father, Fray Diego de Ordás; and of the second coming of the Dutch, and the ruin that they caused in Abucay.

The father master Fray Alonso de Carvajal governed this province during his triennium with general acceptation and credit, and he increased the regular observance there by example rather than rigor. The time having arrived for the new provincial chapter, it was held in the convent of San Pablo in Manila, May eleven, one thousand six hundred and forty-seven. Father Fray Alonso de Lara, senior definitor of the preceding triennium, presided, as no letters-patent had been received from our most reverend father-general to enable any one else to preside. Father Fray Diego de Ordás was elected provincial with the greatest harmony, by the fathers voting. He had been a minister for many years in the province of Bisayas, and had come to these islands in the year 1624. In the year 1635 he had brought a fine mission of religious, as we saw in its proper place. The defin-

itors elected were father Fray Jerónimo de Paredes,⁶⁰ Fray Andrés de Fuentes,⁶¹ Fray Pedro Valenzuela,⁶² and Fray Gaspar López.⁶³ The visitors present were those of the preceding chapter, father Fray Juan Gallegos and the father lecturer Fray Diego de Ochoa. For the near future were elected fathers Fray Pedro de Mejía and Fray Tomás de Villanueva.⁶⁴ Afterward, in a private meeting of the

⁶⁰ Jerónimo Paredes was a native of Castilla and professed in the convent of Pamplona. He was prior of Ternate (1621-25), at the cession of that island to the Portuguese Augustinians. On returning to Manila he labored in Pampanga, in the villages of Pórac (1629), Apálit (1632), Macabebe (1633), Guagua (1635), Aráyat (1638), and México (1645). He presided at the provincial chapter of 1651, and had before been visitor, prior of Santo Niño (1644), and definitor (1647). His death in 1651 was universally bewailed. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 93.

⁶¹ Andrés de Fuentes, a religious of the province of Castilla, was a notable orator, and the zealous minister of Calumpit in 1632. He was procurator-general in 1635, minister of Barbarán in 1636, and preacher-general in 1638. This last year he went to Malate, but afterward ministered in San Pablo de los Montes (1641), Taal (1644), Tondo (1645), Lipa (1650), and again in Malate (1653). His death occurred in 1653. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 106.

⁶² Pedro Valenzuela was a native of Castilla la Vieja, where he professed. After going to the Philippines he was assigned to the villages of Bangui (1624), Santa Cruz (1627 and 1632), Narvacán (1630), Purao (1636), and Dingras (1641). He was elected definitor in 1647, and was appointed visitor of the Ilocan provinces by Diego Ordás, meeting his death at the hands of the Zambals while attending to the duties of the visitation. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 100.

⁶³ Gaspar López, a native of Castilla, an eminent orator, and a missionary in Tambobong (1630), Pórac (1633), Sesmoan (1635), Santor (1638), Apálit (1639), Gapán (1641), México (1644), Macabebe (1645), and Bacolór (1653), was definitor in 1644-47, and died at Bacolór (1655). See Pérez's *Catálogo*, pp. 106, 107.

⁶⁴ Tomás de Villanueva was a native of Villanueva de los Infantes and professed in the Burgos convent. Having been assigned to the Bisayas Islands, he labored in Carcar (1627), Baong (1632), Tigbauan (1633-35), Jaro (1636), Barbarán

definitors, on May 18, father Fray Martin García⁶⁵ was chosen procurator-general in España, and defintor of this province for the general chapter of the near future. He was given the authority to appoint a discreto. It was determined to buy a hospice in Méjico for the care of the religious who come to these islands on the missions that are conducted from España. But that was not put into execution until many years after, when father Fray Juan de Borja⁶⁶ obtained it by buying some houses which belonged to Onofre de Lorenzana along the highway of Tacuba, where the hospice is located at present. Neither did the embarkation of father Fray Martín García take place, because the Dutch fleet was in the Embocadero of

(1638, 1641, 1659, 1662), Panay (1644, 1656), and Mambúsao (1671), and Candon and Dingras in Ilocos (1650-53). He died in 1674 so poor that his burial expenses were defrayed by his parishioners. He was visitor and master of novitiates in 1647, and prior of Guadalupe in 1657. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 95.

⁶⁵ Martin García professed in the convent of Arenas in 1629 and arrived in the Philippines June 29, 1635. He became preacher and confessor in Manila whence he went to Santa Cruz in Ilocos in 1641. In 1647 he was appointed procurator-general, but without assuming that office, sailed for Spain May 18, 1647, with appointment as commissary-procurator. His death occurred in Madrid in 1649. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 110.

⁶⁶ Juan de Borja, a native of Osuna, professed in that city. He became fluent in the Bisayan tongue, and labored in the missions of Mambúsao (1640, 1659), Barbarán (1644, 1656), Otón (1645), and Batan (1653); being prior of the convent of Santo Niño (1657), defintor (1659), president of the chapter (1662), and prior of the convent of Guadalupe (1665). In 1665 he commissioned the founding of the Augustinian hospice for the Philippines in Mexico, known as Santo Tomás de Villanueva, of which he was superior until his death in 1683. He wrote a religious treatise in the Bisayan language, while many of his letters were preserved by the order. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 112.

The hospice was actually founded in 1667, under the advocacy of the Santo Limosnero of Valencia [*i.e.*, "the charitable saint of Valencia"—alluding to St. Thomas of Villanueva; he was bishop of Valencia, and died in 1555]; it was used by the Augustinians

San Bernardino, waiting both for the galleon from España and for the one about to sail from Cavite for the port of Acapulco. For the same reason the provincial was given dispensation so that he was not required to go to visit the Bisayan provinces, in order that he might avoid the same danger.

[The troubles with the Dutch in the year 1647 follow. They are sufficiently treated in VOL. XXXVI. Diaz adds:]

This was the last exploit of the Dutch enemy in these islands, which they had infested for many years with extraordinary pertinacity. It may be that, tired of the little benefit that they secured from their hostilities, and affrighted by the vast expenses caused by the equipment of so many fleets and by the many men that they lost, they were undeceived in thinking that the defense of these islands does not rest with divine Providence, which preserves them more by miracles than by human force.

The rebel Dutch arms derived no better success in the undertakings that they had attempted during those times in Joló and Zamboanga, guided by the chief Salicala (who was hostile to the Spaniards), and bribed by a rich present of amber and pearls so that, the Joloans being protected by their favor, the Dutch could take Joló as their own, and the Joloans would not try to look for a better opportunity for safety. The Dutch sent two well armed war-galleons from Batavia, so that they might have more than enough forces to oppose the few Spanish forces of whom Salicala had informed them. They reached Joló in the middle of July, 1648, and after having dug

until it was confiscated by the Mexicans at the time of their revolution, in 1818. See Pérez, *ut supra*, note.

their trenches they demanded the surrender of the place from the sargento-mayor, Esteban de Orella Ugalde, a brave Biscayan, who was governing that fort. He was given a limit of four hours, but he replied with so great valor, showing his intention to defend the fort, that the Dutch began to bombard it with three pieces of artillery, on the twenty-seventh of the said month. Our fortress, although small, played its artillery too, so successfully that many of the Dutchmen were killed, and among them the admiral of the expedition. The bombardment lasted for three days, but their shots were unable to demolish our forts, although these were so weak that our men afterward destroyed them with clubs. The Joloan Moros, seeing the lack of advantage gained by their allies, grew mistrustful of their patronage; and the Dutch withdrew, tired and angry. The peace made by Don Francisco de Atienza with the king of Jolo followed that attack; and on that pretext the fort was demolished and the Spaniards retired, as it was a useless undertaking and one of no advantage.

The Dutch greatly regretted the peace made between the Joloans and the Spaniards; for they had already prepared for that undertaking, and for the attack on Zamboanga seven of the strongest galleons armed with picked men and many munitions of war. In order not to lose so great reputation, they went to attack Zamboanga, where Don Francisco de Atienza, a brave Toledoan, was governing; and they remained in sight of the channel, in order to await the relief-boats for Ternate, which were returning to Manila in charge of General Juan de Chaves. But, having had contrary storms, those vessels arrived so late that the Dutch had set sail eleven days before, in despair

of succeeding in the undertaking. Before leaving, the enemy tried to land men in Zamboanga; but our artillery did them so much damage that they retired to the port of La Caldera. Captain Pedro Durán Monforte followed them on land with fifty Spaniards and many Pampangos, in order to prevent them from disembarking; and the enemy, therefore, contented themselves by destroying with their cannon the hills, on which they wasted more than 600 balls. They thought that their opponents' camp would be quite demolished by that; and they assured themselves by landing their small boats with some experienced men. But our men received them so spiritedly that they made the Dutch retire to their ships, whence they returned twice with new reënforcements. But all of them were driven back with like slaughter, until they gave over their obstinacy, and sought the shelter of their galleons with the loss of a hundred men; while our men suffered no other loss in this encounter than a single man killed when Zamboanga was bombarded — namely, Captain Don Luis de Rojas, whose head was carried away by a cannon-ball. The Dutch, despairing of being able to come out of the matter with credit, retired to the port of La Caldera, and returned thence to Batavia thoroughly scared.

Pitiful was the disaster that befell the father defensor, Fray Pedro de Valenzuela, in the year 1648. Our father provincial, Fray Diego de Ordás, had entrusted to him the annual visitation of the province of Ilocos. If one goes there by land, he must inevitably pass through a stretch of unsettled country for a day's journey, between the province of Pampanga and that of Pangasinán, from the village of Magalang to that of Malunguey. One cannot pass

it with security without an escort of *Zambals*, who are, like the *Pampangos* of those elevated villages in that province, a brave people. The reason is, that all that unsettled portion is exposed to the incursions of the blacks from the mountains of *Playa Honda*, who are the cruelest of all that scattered nation.

Those blacks are the ancient inhabitants of this island of *Luzón*, which is the chief and largest island where *Manila* is established; for the other nations of the *Indians* are lately come from the adjacent islands of *Borneo* and *Sumatra*. They are not so black as those of *África*, but have a color much clearer, although they are alike in their curly hair. That race is especially wretched and unfortunate, and cowardly and treacherous. They live in the mountains like wild beasts, naked, and without villages or houses. They wander about continually, and sleep on the ground in the open, or in the hollow of some great tree. Their best shelter is formed of some leaves hastily arranged. They excel in hunting, for deer, wild boars, buffaloes, and mountain carabaos abound in these mountains. Their arms are the bow and arrow, in which they are very skilful. Their paganism almost amounts to atheism, for they have no idols or sacrifices, but only some vain superstitions – in which they are so tenacious and blind that if any of them would become a true Christian it would be regarded as a miracle. They are so fond of that manner of living (in which they are not at all different from the brutes) that not only do they not desire to live in settlements like men, but some of them who have been reared from childhood in *Manila* and other places, run away, and return to the

wretchedness of that life when they are grown, and to their nakedness and poverty." . . .

Among the evil inclinations of those unfortunate creatures, the greatest is a ravenous appetite for killing people and cutting off their heads – first of their enemies, but even of their friends and relatives – and that for very slight cause. That cruelty is for them honor, nobility, and estimation. But it is a greater glory to cut off the head of a Spaniard; and, after performing their dances and superstitions before it, they use the skull as a drinking vessel in their greatest feasts.

The father definitor, Fray Pedro de Valenzuela, found himself among those barbarous people in the most dangerous part of that wild region, which is a site called Puntalón – a precipice between hills. He refused to take an escort, for he was overconfident; and thus he paid for his carelessness by being shot through with many arrows. Those people cut off his head, which became the occasion of great banquets, dances, and revels. But all the blacks concerned in that act of treachery were overtaken very

⁹⁷ See VOL. XXXVI, note 33. See also *Revue des deux Mondes* for 1869, vol. 81, article "L'Archipel des Philippines" (pp. 932-964), by Edmond Plauchut. On pp. 937-939, is described an incident illustrating the "unsubduable passion for liberty" of the Negritos. An infant of three was once captured by the Spaniards, who was about to be buried alive by his mother as she was impeded in her flight by reason of her child. This Negrito, being taken to Manila, was adopted by an American and baptized Pedrito. In due time the young savage was taken to Europe and America by his adopted father, and learned to speak Spanish, French, and English, returning after two years of travel. About two years after his return, Pedrito disappeared, and joined his own wandering tribesmen. He was seen later by a Prussian naturalist, a relative of the famous Humboldt, who ascended the mountain of Marivélez, and who talked with the "reclaimed" Negrito. This occurred in 1860.

soon by the punishment of heaven; for they all caught a disease which is called that of St. Lazarus [*i.e.*, leprosy]. . . .

That horrible disease has been inherited by their descendants, and the blacks recognize and confess that it is their punishment for the murder of Fray Pedro Valenzuela. From that time, they have not dared to kill any priest; but they only rob them of what they carry. In my time, a religious of St. John of God was able to escape death among those blacks by uncovering his tonsure while passing that dangerous and unsettled district.

Some years later, the same blacks killed General Don Felipe de Ugalde, a brave Biscayan, in the same place, because he trusted in his great valor. But the number of the enemy was greater, and they drove so many arrows through him that he bled to death, after he had first killed many of the blacks. They cut off his head, which they held in high esteem as a trophy of such a victory, until it was possible to ransom it and bury it with ecclesiastical rites. Many other Spaniards have been killed by their carelessness and great confidence; and consequently, that unsettled stretch is very dangerous.

CHAPTER VIII

Events of those times, and the provincial chapter of the year 1650. The insurrection of the Indians of Palapag, and their pacification.

That whole triennium was very happy for our province, because of the prudent government of our father, Fray Diego de Ordás, who was one of the most perfect religious that it has ever had. He was

very observant in the rules of the order, and zealous for the welfare of the souls of the natives; and he had been an excellent evangelical minister in the Bisayan provinces of Panay, Ogtong, and Cebú. He was very mild toward his subjects, but very austere toward himself. If it were not my purpose in writing this history not to be prolix in writing the lives of the religious, in order not to expose myself to the belief that I dwell on my own order too much, the life of our father Fray Diego de Ordás would furnish sufficient material for several chapters. Those who had to do with him told me much of his continual penitence and prayer, and especially of his poverty and disinterestedness in temporal affairs, for which he was notable. His presence in the choir in his extreme old age was the admiration of the youngest and most robust. Consequently, he was always venerated by all this province as a father. He was also much esteemed by the other orders, and by the entire community of Manila.

But very different was the condition of this community during all the term of the government of Diego Fajardo until the year 1653, because of the calamities and troubles which occasioned the earthquake on St. Andrew's day in the former year of 1645, and because of the frequent comings of the Dutch. And although the divine Mercy willed to humble their pride by giving us miraculous victories, yet the anxiety and expenses were very great; and the burden of the provinces was increased greatly, because of the cutting of timber for the building of ships and galleys, and other precautions that had to be taken for defense. But the greatest horror suffered by the community of Manila was the internal

war of fears and sudden surprises, of imprisonment, embargoes, and exiles, which were continually occurring, and were such that they exceeded past troubles.

Don Diego Fajardo was a gentleman of great valor and integrity, and wholly disinterested and free from covetousness—qualities that would have been sufficient to have made him a great governor, had it not been for the counterweight of other peculiarities that rendered them abortive. For he secluded himself so much that it became difficult to hold communication with him, and he was very much feared; from this it resulted that he was so rigorous in the observance of justice that he would not allow mercy any play, as if the two virtues were opposed to each other. That natural fondness for retirement, injurious to so extensive a government as is that of these islands, forced him to admit an associate for his negotiations, which is always a dangerous thing in worldly affairs. Consequently, among those few who gained his good-will, a rich citizen of Manila well related by marriage gained great control over him. That man became so much the master of the governor's actions that the latter neither did nor commanded other than what his favorite desired. Since this name is given by the world to the tyrants of the wills of princes, therefore I have desired to suppress the name of that man for the sake of his honored posterity; for, although it will be indelible in these islands, it may be at least somewhat unknown outside them.⁶⁸

The disposition of that favorite was very ambi-

⁶⁸ The master-of-camp, Manuel Estacio Venegas (see *ante*, note 50), who was a relative of the Recollect friar Juan de San Antonio. See Montero y Vidal's *Hist. de Filipinas*, i, p. 265.

tious and proud, which greatly resembled that of the harsh and austere governor. Consequently, that sympathy [in characteristics] conciliated the will of the governor to such an extent that he gave the favorite complete control of the government – giving him more confidence than he ought, in order to sink farther into his natural retirement. He decreed what this man ordered to him, and executed only what was directed by the favorite's influence. Thereupon the latter began with that license to avenge certain passions and arrogated to himself all the grandeur, fear, and respect which was due only to the supreme character of the governor. Master Don José de Poblete,⁸⁹ who died as bishop-elect of Nueva Segovia, wrote a printed relation at the order of the supreme Council of the Indias, and in accordance with a decree of his Majesty Don Felipe V, of happy memory, in which his Majesty ordered that an exact relation be given of the condition of those islands, in order that he might give notice to his chronicler-general, Don Tomás Tamayo de Vargas, for the general history of the islands which he was composing; therein he uses these words, when describing the condition of Manila at that time:

“But although the decrease of wealth and the general poverty had afflicted this kingdom, accustomed at other times to great opulence and affluence in all things, yet that which most grieved the minds of its inhabitants were the acts of violence, imprisonments,

⁸⁹ José Millán de Poblete was a Mexican, and went to Manila with his uncle, the archbishop of that name. He was head chaplain of the troops in Filipinas, an advocate for prisoners in the Inquisition, and finally bishop of Nueva Segovia in 1671, dying on June 25, 1674, in his diocese. (Pardo de Tavera, *Biblioteca filipina*, p. 268.)

embargoes, exiles, and other terrifying exhibitions of rigor which began to be introduced into it after the year forty-four, as will be told later. All this, being yet in its violent beginnings, kept not only this city of Manila, where the thunderbolts strike nearer, but all the islands of its jurisdiction, full of horror and gloom; and there was no chink that was not closed to consolation, when all gates were seen opened to misfortune." The author of this relation, after having described the earthquake which happened in the year 1645, proceeds as follows:

"All those plagues, penalties, and wretchedness above mentioned were not the most grievous matters that afflicted this community. Worse were the domestic afflictions and secret tragedies that it suffered during these last years. Those were the hidden pest that infected men's hearts and poisoned the blood, which instead of giving vital strength to the members caused them mortal shocks. These were the slow fever, which, insidiously taking possession of the principal part of the body, destroyed the harmony of its actions and disturbed its powers. With the progress of that disease, the hourglass was so disordered that there was no hour for clemency and fortune, and all times were given over to misfortune. Already so great was the number of those thrown into prisons, dungeons, and obscure cells, that all the places set aside by justice for the punishment of criminals were filled; and other new and frightful places, sites, and methods of delayed punishment were found inside the city. And when those places were also full, it was necessary to divide the prisoners among the provinces, villages, and presidios of these islands."

Thus far Don José Millán de Poblete, in the above-cited relation, which was dedicated to the Conde de Peñaranda, president of the supreme Council of the Indias. In matters so criminal and full of grief, I have not been willing to trust to my own poor wit and lack of polish, nor to leave my reputation to the judgment of others. The worst is, that those disasters continued with greater rigor to the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-three.

Those misfortunes were succeeded by another, causing universal sorrow and pain, namely, the disastrous loss of the ship "Encarnación," which was returning from Nueva España laden with very great wealth belonging to the citizens of Manila. It sighted the land of Filipinas late, and, very severe vendavals having seized it, it was driven ashore on a beach of the island of Leite called Bula. Striking through carelessness on a shoal, a storm overtook the ship, which made kindling-wood of it, although it had been already lightened of much of its cargo, and all the money was taken out. Afterward the artillery was taken ashore, and much of the iron in its construction was used. But the loss of that galleon was great, because our lack of ships kept these islands threatened by the frequent coming of the Dutch enemy—who, protected by their nearness in the island Hermosa, lost no opportunity to do us all the harm possible. That misfortune was followed the next year by the putting back to port of the galleon "San Diego," which was badly injured by the storms that it had suffered in northern latitudes in the month of October—which is the most dangerous month for navigators in all seas.

The three years of the prudent government of our

father, Fray Diego de Ordás, having been concluded – to the general sorrow of this province, which was desirous to reelect him for the second time, and oftener if possible – the fathers who had a vote assembled in chapter in the convent of Manila, May nine, 1650, and elected as provincial for the third time our father Fray Gerónimo de Medrano. The senior definitor, Fray Gerónimo de Paredes, presided. As new definitors were elected fathers Fray Lucas de Aguilar,⁷⁰ Fray Sancho de Moncada,⁷¹ Fray Dionisio Suárez,⁷² and Fray Diego Tamayo. The visitors were Fray Pedro Mejía and Fray Tomás de Villanueva. Fraternal relations between our order and the fathers of the Society were settled at that chapter, and the feasts of the two holy patriarchs were celebrated alternately. It was accomplished by Ours saying mass on St. Ignatius's day, while the same was

⁷⁰ Lucas Aguilar was a missionary in Ilocos, to the villages of Purao (1620), Sinait (1621, 1626, 1644), Dingras (1624, 1638), Bauang (1633), Bantáy (1641), and Narvacán (1647). He was appointed definitor in 1650, and retired to the Manila convent, where he died in 1654. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 95.

⁷¹ Sancho de Moncada, a native of Toledo, professed in that city in 1613. He labored in the Tagalog villages of Bigaá (1636), Caruyan (1638), Malolos (1641), Hagonoy (1644), Tanauan (1645), Taguig (1647), and Calumpit (1653). His death occurred in 1656. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 113.

⁷² Dionisio Suárez was a native of Porto Alegre, in the province of Alentejo in Portugal, and professed in the convent of Salamanca. He was one of the most illustrious men of his order in the Philippines (serving as prior and rector-provincial in 1668 and 1672), and many acts of great use to the order were published during his terms of government; and many churches and convents were rebuilt, among them San Pablo of Manila of which he was prior four times (1653, 1665, 1671, 1675). He was missionary to the villages of Taguig (1630), Bauan, Parañaque (1638-50), Lipa (1656), Taal (1659), Tondo (1674), and Malate (1677). His death occurred in 1679, and he left a Tagalog MS. of three volumes. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, pp. 107, 108.

done by the fathers of the Society in our convent – they preaching and celebrating mass on the day of our father, St. Augustine. That holy concord and harmony lasted for several years, until the enemy of the peace destroyed it.⁷³

As the father-procurator, Fray Martín García, had died on the voyage, father Fray Juan Lozano,⁷⁴ apostolic missionary in the Bisayan provinces – where the memory of his great virtue, acts of penance, and contemplation still lasted when I went to the said provinces in the year 1671 – was appointed in that chapter meeting. But that appointment failed to go through; for the father-procurator did not embark, as he was prevented by Governor Don Diego Fajardo – or rather, by his favorite who was governing; for the latter feared that he was carrying reports denouncing his operations, which had thrown those islands into the final degree of consternation. Accordingly, father Fray Cristóbal Enriquez was appointed, and he sailed that year. However, in the year 1652 they succeeded in sending father Fray Juan Lozano as procurator to bring some religious, even if it should be from the provinces of Méjico and Mechoacán, for the need that we were suffering was very urgent; but he died on the way to Acapulco.

⁷³ In 1860 when the fathers of the Society of Jesus were again installed at Manila, that amity was again established at their petition, thanks to the hospitality that the Augustinians showed them in their convent at Manila, and afterward in that of Guadalupe, until they acquired a house of their own. – TIRSO LOPEZ, O.S.A.

⁷⁴ Juan Lozano was an excellent Visayan preacher, and ministered in the villages of Dumangas (1635), Jaro (1644), Panay (1647), and Passi (1650). He died in 1659, according to Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 108.

Our father Fray Diego de Ordás presented a petition to the definitorio, yielding and renouncing the right that he held according to our rules, as immediate outgoing provincial, to be able to assume the government of the province in case of the death of the recently-elected provincial, who was very aged. That resignation was accepted in order to console him and because of the many entreaties therefor which he proffered. All the fathers were edified at beholding him so free from ambition, although they forced him in the following chapter to receive the office of provincial, which he accepted very reluctantly.

Since the pacification of the insurrection of the Indians of Palapag (in the province of Leite) in Pintados was finished in that year of one thousand six hundred and fifty, I shall here insert some notice of that insurrection, leaving the historians of the Society of Jesus to deal with it more particularly – who as they were eyewitnesses of it, will have more individual information about its events. [Diaz's account of this insurrection will appear in another place.]

Another very considerable misfortune happened at that time, namely, the loss of the galleon "Encarnación," under command of General Don López Colíndrico. It was broken to pieces at a place called Balón, because it left Acapulco late, and because, having lost the better season of the brisas, the favorable winds, ran aground at Bagambog, on the coast of Caraga in the island of Mindanao – a place where no ship had passed since the year 1542, when General Ruy López de Villalobos anchored there with his fleet. The governor sent orders to Andrés López

de Asaldigui, his chief lieutenant, to go to investigate the loss of the galleon "Encarnación."

CHAPTER IX

Events of the years 1651 and 1652

[Manila had been in distress for some years because of the loss of various galleons, and because of the unfortunate temperament of the governor, Diego Fajardo, and his consequent governing through his favorite.]

That internal war lasted for seven years in the afflicted community of Manila, and no one dared to undeceive the severe governor regarding the injuries committed in his name by his favorite, who made him hated in the community, and guilty of the imprisonment and exiles that were executed not only on laymen but also on the secular clergy and religious. For in order to have control of those whom the Church exempted from his jurisdiction, he succeeded in removing the dean, Doctor Don Juan Vélez, from the post of provisor and vicar-general of the vacant see, and having it given to his intimate friend and confederate, Doctor Don Francisco Fernández Ledo. With that same diligence he contrived and obtained the exile of Doctor Don Diego de Cartagena y Pantoja ⁷⁸ and other secular clergy to Macasar.

Those who suffered most from his harsh and violent acts were the [fathers of the] order of our

⁷⁸ Doctor Diego de Cartagena, a priest expelled from the Society of Jesus, obtained from the king a prebend in the ecclesiastical cabildo of Manila. The cabildo and archbishop opposed this, but, under pressure of threats by Governor Salcedo, they finally admitted Cartagena under protest. (Montero y Vidal, *Hist. de Filipinas*, i, p. 333.)

father, St. Augustine, the cause of his wrath being that they had refused to elect as provincial one of their members who was acceptable and dear to him. Although the abilities of that father made him merit the office, yet it was not allowable that it be conferred by that method, so strictly forbidden by the sacred counsels and canons. Consequently, his wrath was aroused against the order of our father St. Augustine, and he sent malicious reports against it to his Majesty in the royal and supreme Council of the Indias, in letters apparently signed by Governor Don Diego Fajardo—who, when he waked from that lethargy, declared under oath that they were not his. At our petition, the following governor, Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, made a full investigation before Auditor Don Álvaro García de Ocampo, the commissioned judge, in January, 1654—which proved that all that was charged by the said favorite against the order was false. He sent that report to the said royal and supreme Council, and a copy of it is kept in our archives.

The divine clemency did not choose that the troubles of afflicted Manila should go further. Therefore He encouraged and strengthened our father Fray Jerónimo de Medrano—who had been provincial of this province of ours for three terms, and was its true father—to penetrate the deep retirement of the deluded governor (in whom the father's virtue and age had inspired some affection and considerable veneration). He informed the governor of the truth with efficacious arguments, showing him the deceit in which the cunning of the favorite had kept him buried, while he yielded to the violent operations of the ambition and cruelty of that man, injuring his

own reputation. Divine Providence permitted him to open the eyes of the deceived governor, because of the favorable idea that the latter had formed of the accuser; and, seeing that his honor and his conscience were being endangered, he made the investigations on his part that were necessary, in order not to discredit his determination as being precipitate. He found all that father Fray Jerónimo de Medrano had said, and much more, to be true. Thereupon, he resolved to come to himself, for the sake of the community of Manila, and had his favorite arrested, September 16, 1651. Formulating legal proceedings against him for the crimes that he had committed, he questioned him under torture, in which the prisoner answered nothing—either because of his great courage, or because he had taken some confection of opium, which they purposely gave him to drink, and which has so narcotic a virtue that it renders those who drink it insensible to pain.

Among many other injuries that the said favorite had done to the citizens of Manila was this, that he caused the governor to hold back the reward that his Majesty granted to General Don Pedro de Almonte, [in appointing him] master-of-camp, with the bestowal of the habit of Santiago, for his great services in Ternate, Mindanao, and Joló (some of which we have mentioned before in this history). [Don Diego did so] because that favorite had risen to the said post (the second after the governor of Filipinas), as the regularly-appointed master-of-camp, Don Fernando de Ayala—a brave soldier of Flandes in the time of the count of Fuentes, who added so great luster to the Spanish arms—had died in the beginning [of his term].

The governor surrendered the appointment to Don Pedro de Almonte, and put him in possession of the government of the army as its master-of-camp. Also, as a professed knight of the Order of Santiago, he gave him his habit in the convent of Santa Clara for the consolation of a daughter who was a nun there. The prior of our convent of Manila, Fray Dionisio Suárez, was present at the ceremonies that were celebrated at the said function.

Afflicted Manila began to take breath and that so long storm died down. For although the governor was by nature so retiring, he was very upright, and in the highest degree disinterested—a quality that rendered his harsh rectitude tolerable. Many who had been exiled to the presidios of Ternate, Zamboanga, and other forts in these islands, began to come back to their homes. Many citizens were released from the prison where they were confined, and returned to attend to the common welfare, the governor substituting methods of more peaceful operation, which tempered the austerity of his integrity. The favorite remained in prison until the new governor, Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, gave sentence in his cause.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ "We omit the rest of this chapter, as it contains some information referring to [the favorite's] evil acts, which although almost all taken from official records and documents, cannot be sifted by a severe and impartial critical review; while on the other side their publication has absolutely no interest." (Tirso López, O.S.A.)

It is to be regretted that the above editor saw fit to curtail this chapter, or at least that he did not give it in synopsis, however short.

CHAPTER X

Of the election of our father Fray Andrés Verdugo as provincial; and the arrival of Governor Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara and Archbishop Don Miguel de Poblete.

. . . The time for holding the chapter-session of this province arrived. The voting fathers assembled in the convent of San Pablo in Manila, on May three, 1653. The senior definitor, father Fray Lucas de Aguilar, presided; and they unanimously elected as provincial the father lecturer, Fray Andrés de Verdugo, a minister of the province of Tagalos, a prominent religious, and one who was very learned, prudent, and affable. He bore the name Verdugo⁷⁷ by antiphrasis, according to his characteristics, which were suitable for the office of father and superior. The definitors elected were the fathers Master Fray Alonso de Carvajal, Fray Francisco de Madrid,⁷⁸ the lecturer Fray Francisco de Villalón, and Fray José de la Cuesta,⁷⁹ who was very

⁷⁷ Verdugo means, among other things, a hangman, executioner, or very cruel person, hence the allusion in the text.

⁷⁸ Francisco de Madrid was a missionary in Ilocos, at Tagudín (1623), Candon (1624), Dingras (1629), Batác (1633), and Malolos (Bulacán; 1635). He served twice as definitor (1638 and 1653), was prior of Manila (1650), and of Candon (1651, 1654), and died at the Manila convent in 1654. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, pp. 92, 93.

⁷⁹ José de la Cuesta professed in the Salamanca convent, and was an eminent Greek scholar. He was assigned to Ilocos, and ministered in the villages of Bantay (1638), Pasig (1645 and 1647), Tambobong, and Bulacán (1659). He was definitor and visitor in 1653. In 1639 he defended the convent of Tondo against the Chinese insurgents. His death occurred in 1662; and he left two MSS., one of mystical sermons and the other on the study of Greek. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, pp. 111, 112.

learned in the Greek language. The visitors who were present were fathers Fray Lorenzo de Figueroa and Fray José de Betoño⁸⁰ (substitute for father Fray Tomás de Velasco,⁸¹ who had returned to España).

In a private meeting of the definitors which was held in the convent of Tondo, December 22, father Fray Francisco de Victoria,⁸² prior of that convent, was appointed procurator to España with the same commissions and authority which had been borne by father Fray Juan Lozano, who died the preceding year on the voyage to Acapulco. But father Fray Francisco de Victoria had the same fortune, for he embarked the next year and died on the high sea, en route to Nueva España. That voyage is very dangerous to those who are accustomed to the climate of the Philippines, because of the great change which is experienced as the galleon ascends to a high northern latitude (sometimes as high as forty de-

⁸⁰ José Betoño was a native of Madrid, and professed in the convent of San Felipe el Real. He labored in the missions of Minatin (1647), Lubao (1651, 1659), and Gapán (1653). He acted as subprior of Manila in 1650, visitor and prior of Lubao in 1652, and was elected commissary-procurator for Madrid in 1660, but died while on his voyage to Spain in 1664. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, pp. 116, 117.

⁸¹ Tomás Velasco was from Andalucía, where he was a confessor and preacher for some years. In the Philippines he was subprior of Manila (1644), and worked in the missions of Baoan (1645), San Pablo de los Montes (1645), Malolos (1648), and Quingua (1650). See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 192.

⁸² Francisco de Victoria took the habit in the Salamanca convent. After going to the Philippines he became subprior of Manila (1644, 1651), and was missionary in the villages of Tanauan (1642), Calumpit (1645), and Tondo (1653). In 1653 he sailed for Spain as procurator, returning to Manila in 1656, after which he labored in Taguig and Tondo (1659). He died in 1661. Pérez's *Catálogo*, pp. 112, 113.

grees), and then again descends to sixteen, in which lies the port of Acapulco. Therefore, that so sudden change is the cause of many dying on that voyage, which is the longest, most tedious, and most dangerous in all the seas. It is undertaken in the most stormy season, when navigation is denied to the rest of the world; and, in that time, the months of October and November are the season when our galleons are battling with the greatest tempests. If it were not for the great strength of the galleons and the quality of their timbers, that so dangerous navigation could not be performed; and above all is their safety due to divine Providence, in whose charge is the conservation of these islands, where there is so numerous and excellent a Christian people. They apparently serve as a counterpoise to the ingratitude of the European nations of the north, who, at the same time when these islands were discovered, had been seduced by various heresies, and denied obedience to the Roman Catholic Church and their legitimate kings.

The ship "San Francisco Javier" – which had wintered at Acapulco, as it had arrived late and very hardly used – left that port March three; and, having had a very fortunate voyage by the help of divine clemency, and having profited by the entire monsoon of the brisas, arrived at so good a season that it entered the Embocadero of San Bernardino June 26. The mail was sent on from the island of Ticao, in order to rejoice Manila with the glad news of the treasure which was coming in that galleon, to wit, the following persons.

As governor and captain-general of these islands was coming Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara,

knight of the Order of Calatrava, a native of Malaga, late castellan of Acapulco. He was a brother of the count of Prigiliana, and uncle of his Excellency Don Rodrigo Manuel Manrique de Lara, count of Aguilar and Prigiliana – who was a member of the Council of State and governor of that of Aragón, viceroy of Valencia, of Andalucía, the coasts of the Ocean Sea, and the royal fleet. He is a gentleman worthy of eternal renown in these islands, since, if he was not the best, he is not left behind by any of those who are most remembered for piety, devotion, and zeal for the service of God and their king. In all things he had a clear understanding and an admirable eloquence; he was very jovial by nature, and easily pleased all men. Accordingly, he left behind not only a lasting memory of his eloquence and disinterestedness, but also of his discretion. [On his return to Malaga he becomes a priest.]

Doctor Don Miguel Millán de Poblete, the consecrated archbishop of Manila, also came. He was a native of the imperial city of Méjico, and was an excellent theologian and canonist, doctoral canon of La Puebla, magistral prebend in the cathedral of Méjico, and rector of its university. He had refused to accept the bishopric of Nicaragua. He was highly esteemed by Don Juan de Palafox, who consecrated him and gave him the pallium. . . . With him he brought his nephew, Master Don José de Poblete, who, after having been dean of Manila, died bishop-elect of Nueva Segovia.

There came also the most illustrious master, Don Fray Rodrigo de Cárdenas of the Order of Preachers, a native of Lima, preacher to his Majesty, and consecrated bishop of Nueva Segovia. As it has

been his lot to be celebrated by the most skilful pen of the reverend father master Fray Baltasar de Santa Cruz in the second part of the History of the province of Santo Rosario, he does not need the rude tracings of my pen. There came, elected and appointed as bishop of Cebú, the dean of Manila, Doctor Don Juan de Velas; and as bishop of Nueva Cáceres or Camarines, the very reverend father Fray Antonio de San Gregorio,⁸⁸ lecturer and calificador and commissary of the Holy Office. He was also provincial of that province of San Gregorio of the Order of St. Francis, because of the death of Don Fray Antonio de Zaldivar, a religious of our father St. Augustine, of the province of Méjico – who died without having been consecrated, in the year 1649, after he had governed that church for little more than one year, his death causing great sorrow in all quarters because of his great virtues and learning.

As auditor came Licentiate Don Salvador Gomez de Espinosa, an eminent jurisconsult; and, to act as his Majesty's fiscal, Don Juan de Bolivar y Cruz,

⁸⁸ Antonio de San Gregorio, a native of Saelices de los Gallegos, took the Franciscan habit March 10, 1611, and went to the Philippines in 1621. The following year he was appointed a confessor, and in 1624 lecturer in the arts. Later he administered the village of Polo; and was elected definitor (November 18, 1628), commissary of the Franciscan tertiary order of Manila, and lecturer in sacred theology. In 1630 he was in the village of Meycauayan, and was elected provincial January 17, 1632, the Chinese missions being opened in his time. He sailed for Mexico in 1635, returning thence in 1639. September 16 of that same year he was elected vicar-provincial, holding that office until February 4, 1640. He then administered the village of Santa Ana de Sapa until 1649, when he went to Polo. In January of that year he was again elected provincial; May 8, 1649, he was appointed bishop of Nueva Cáceres, which office he did not assume until some time before June, 1653. He died in 1661 at Naga. See Huerta's *Estado*, pp. 428, 429.

father of Doctor Don Pedro de Bolivar y Mena who was auditor and came to an unfortunate end in our time; for his associates made him an accomplice in the exile of the archbishop Don Fray Felipe Pardo of the Order of St. Dominic. Two missions came in that galleon, one of our Recollect religious, and the other of the Society of Jesus. Some very notable people came, so many that those who came in that galleon amounted to six hundred persons. Their journey was so propitious that only three persons died on the voyage.

The devil was very angry at the great war that he would have to wage because of the holy prelates and religious who came on that galleon "San Francisco Javier." Accordingly, what he could not do on the high sea he managed to do from the Embocadero to Manila. For the winds rebelled against the ship at the island of Mindoro, and so frightful a tempest arose that the galleon was all but lost, and in danger of going to pieces on some high reefs about that island. They cast anchor, and the archbishop conjured the storm, which immediately calmed itself. That galleon suffered three similar storms among the islands before they reached the bay of Manila and cast anchor at Cavite, July 23 – although the governor and archbishop landed the day before that in a *falúa* which was sent to the middle of the bay by the castellan of Cavite, the commander Lorenzo Orella y Ugalde, so often mentioned in this history.

[The governor causes the archbishop to disembark first, in order that he might bless the land; as if in return for this, the sardines, which had deserted the bay of Manila at the exile of Archbishop Guerrero, again entered that bay. The governor, disembark-

barking on the twenty-second, pays homage to the archbishop. The latter makes his public entry into Manila on the twenty-fourth and the governor the next day. The Recollects bring a holy picture (an *Ecce Homo*) which becomes an object of veneration in their convent of San Nicolás at Manila, where the new governor attends. The first work of the latter is to take the residencia of his predecessor, which is entrusted to the direction of Auditor Sebastián Caballero de Medina. The charges preferred are those of harsh conduct, but he is so free from covetousness that "it is recounted of him that he only drew for his expenses five hundred pesos monthly out of the pay of thirteen thousand pesos granted to the governors of these islands; and accordingly, the balance, a considerable amount, was afterward paid to his heirs." He appeals from all the charges to the Council of the Indias, and is sent to Spain, but dies during the voyage, over seventy years of age. Fajardo's favorite is condemned to be beheaded, to vast fines, and to the confiscation of his property. He appeals to Spain, but the sentence is there confirmed. Before the execution of the sentence, however, he dies in prison, in poverty. His money and movable property are confiscated by the treasury and his houses on the square opposite the cathedral are used later as the governor's palace. The prelate and the governor work hand in hand in the regeneration of Manila.]

The first employment of Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara in the beginning of his government, was to appoint the brave Francisco de Esteybar governor of the forts of Ternate,⁸⁴ and the commander Don Fran-

⁸⁴ Ecclesiastical affairs in the Moluccas had been in charge of

cisco de Atienza of those of Zamboanga, for the credit of the arms of España against the Dutch and against the king of Mindanao, Cachil Corralat. He sent Father Magino Sola, of the Society of Jesus, to the city of Macan as his ambassador, to make a treaty of commerce and trade.⁸⁵ He set a galleon upon the stocks, but he was unable to do as his great zeal wished because the royal treasury was exhausted by the lack of supplies from Nueva España, and because the trading galleons, which communicate vital strength to all these islands, had put back so many times.

[The people of Manila recognize that the evils that have been visited upon them are due to their sins, and accordingly an appeal is made to the pope, Innocent X. The latter absolves them from all the censures and interdicts they may have incurred, and concedes them plenary indulgence and absolution for their sins; "and he blessed the land, and ordered the archbishop to perform in public the ceremony of

the bishop of Malacca. After the separation of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns in 1640, that arrangement was deemed inexpedient; the two Portuguese ecclesiastics in Ternate were taken to Manila, and two Jesuits were left in their place, under charge of the archbishop of Manila. See Concepción's *Hist. de Philipinas*, vi, pp. 415, 416.

⁸⁵ Concerning the commercial relations with Macao, Concepción (vi, pp. 416, 417) says: "The city of Macan had sent an hidalgo, one Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, to Manila to establish mutual commercial relations between the two nations [*i.e.*, Portuguese and Spaniards]. Don Diego Faxardo, either for the satisfaction of common injuries, or because the negotiations seemed suspicious, imprisoned, or rather, detained him. Don Sabiniano, more indulgent, sent him back to his port of Macan. As soon as he arrived, the city [of Macao] sent the Jesuit father, Magino Sola, as Don Diego did not wish to expose his person to new risks. The father obtained from the kindness of the governor what the city desired."

the solemn benediction." The archbishop, who has brought that despatch with him, sets the twenty-second of March for those ceremonies; and before that date a great religious fervor sweeps through the city and its suburbs. "On the Sunday assigned, the mass was chanted in the cathedral before the holy sacrament, and the archbishop preached a learned and fervent sermon, such as the season demanded – which was afterward printed, as it was worth being published to all the world." In the afternoon, the blessing of the land and the benediction in the name of the pope follow. At the governor's request, the archbishop also blesses the "fatal gate called Puerta de los Almacenes ('the gate of the magazines'), through which Don Fray Hernando Guerrero had gone into exile." The governor lives in great harmony for the ten years of his service in the Philippines.]

CHAPTER XI

The archbishop tries to visit the missions of the religious, but suspends that effort, and builds the cathedral of Manila.

The archbishop, Don Miguel Millán y Poblete, came here with the firm determination to pursue the plans of Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, bishop of La Puebla de los Ángeles, who had consecrated him. Those plans had caused great disturbances in Nueva España because of their novelty, and had divided that country into the two divisions of Palafoxistas and Palancas,⁸⁸ who were no less mischievous than the Guelphs and Ghibelines in the time of

⁸⁸ Referring to the controversies between Palafox (VOL. XXIX, p. 189) and the religious orders, especially the Jesuits; these cul-

Federico Barbarroja [*i.e.*, Frederick Barbarossa] when determinations issued forth to combat with understandings. Don Juan de Palafox tried to reduce the ministries of the missions (which the orders had possessed in Nueva España since the conquest) to regularly-appointed curacies with canonical institution and collation, so that they could be administered by ordinary jurisdiction, to the suppression of the delegated jurisdiction. This was done in order that the ecclesiastical hierarchy might be one whole in its proportionate parts; and that the episcopal dignity might possess entire dominion over the shepherds of its sheep, by visiting them and sitting in judgment on their excesses in the office of parish priests, which they exercised by virtue of the concession of St. Pius V and other worthy pontiffs. His great perseverance obtained that in the form established at present among the orders, who desired to retain some ministries of the missions—leaving others, because that subjection to the bishops did not seem to them to be in harmony with the institutes of the orders. I shall not mention the disturbances and scandals that the common enemy of souls compassed during that time for the ruin of many—which filled the world with gloom, and gave perfidious heretics the opportunity to blaspheme against the Catholic priests—for they are very well known.

The archbishops of Manila tried to establish that kind of ecclesiastical hierarchy in Filipinas, but as he was so holy, and only desired to promote the greater honor and glory of God (*Qui cogitationem*

minated during the years 1647-49, ending in the peremptory recall of Palafox to Spain. See account of these troubles in Bancroft's *Hist. Mexico*, iii, pp. 120-133.

pacis et non afflictionis habet),⁸⁷ he found considerable inconveniences and even impossibilities in effecting what he was attempting. For Don Juan de Palafox had a great plenty of secular priests who were very suitable in learning and virtue for choosing and presenting for the missions, which the orders were abandoning, because they refused to submit to the rigor of the canonical collation in the appointments to the missions. But the archbishop found a great lack of secular priests in these islands, for scarcely are there enough in this country to fill the choir of the cathedral of Manila, with prebendaries and chaplains for the royal chapel, and some few curacies which the clergy hold in this archbishopric. For the Spaniards in this country multiply but slowly, and very few of their sons apply themselves to following the ecclesiastical life, either secular or regular. That is so true that the orders could not maintain themselves if it were not for the continual missions that are brought from the kingdoms of España. Thus, the clergy is composed of the sons of the Spaniards of this country, and with these is maintained a cabildo in this cathedral of Manila, so distinguished that it might belong to one of the first churches of España; for most of them are doctors in sacred theology, after having graduated first as masters of arts. He who has the least degree is a master. All of them are very learned and of known virtue, which is a cause for admiration, as they live so far from reward that one rarely passes from the sphere of the dignities of the said cabildo. For although some have attained the episcopal dignity, these are very few – as, for instance, this year their

⁸⁷ "Who entertains thoughts of peace and not of affliction."

dean, Doctor Don Domingo de Valencia, was promoted to the bishopric of Camarines,⁸⁸ but at such an age that he cannot obtain the dignity for a long time. However, in order to comply with his obligation, and to give the orders an incentive to represent in judicial form what they had to allege, the archbishop resolved to place the visitation in execution. He began with the mission at Binondoc, outside the walls of the city of Manila, belonging to the religious of St. Dominic, who immediately abandoned that mission; and the same was done by the other orders, who left the missions in their control in the hands of the governor as vice-patron. The latter referred the consultative vote on a so great and weighty matter to the Audiencia in the royal assembly. It was thoroughly discussed by the auditors of the Audiencia, who were all very eminent jurisconsults; and they, recognizing the impossibility of placing in execution in these islands what Don Juan de Palafox had established in Nueva España, as the system in vogue in these regions is very different, despatched a royal prohibition to the archbishop, ordering him to hold his right in reserve, and to suspend what he had begun until the royal and supreme Council of the Indias should be informed, and should take suitable measures. The archbishop was notified by the first and the second royal prohibition; and he obeyed it, and suspended the visitation, after making his protests. From that time the orders found him a most loving father and protector. He referred the case to the royal Council; the orders also [did the

⁸⁸ Apparently meaning that he was placed on the list for promotion at some future vacancy of that see — which he attained in August, 1715 (according to Buzeta and Bravo).

same], by the authority which they gave to the most reverend father master Fray Juan Polanco of the Order of Preachers, the procurator of the province of Santo Rosario at court. All the orders renounced the missions in their charge. The president [of the Council] was the count of Peñaranda, Don Gaspar de Bracamonte y Guzmán, a minister of great talent and experience in very difficult negotiations, as he showed in the peace of Nimega,⁸⁹ where he was the plenipotentiary of Don Felipe IV. That most erudite senate having examined the matter, and having penetrated like lynxes the most hidden difficulties, imposed silence for the time being on that innovation.

The perverse spirit of discord which had in charge the incitement of that litigation in which the prince of darkness profited by a great number of scandals, discords, and tumults, was suspended and remained as if asleep for forty-four years – until it awakened, in the year 1697, because of our sins. Archbishop Doctor Don Diego Camacho y Avila,⁹⁰ a native of Badajoz and former magistral canon of that holy church, and fellow of the chief college at Cuenca in Salamanca, came to these islands [in that year]. He was a great prelate, and very vigilant in his pastoral office. He died later (the year of 1712) as bishop of Guadalajara and was well remembered for his zeal

⁸⁹ The treaty of Nimwegen or Nimeguen was concluded in that city (located in the Netherlands) in 1678-79, between France and the other European powers; it marks the culminating point in Louis XIV's career, and made France the leading European country. The peace between France and Spain was concluded, September 17, 1678.

⁹⁰ The quarrel between Camacho and the friars waxed deep and bitter, and many manifestoes were published on each side. This controversy will be dealt with in a later volume.

and integrity. [Here follows an account of the attempt of Archbishop Camacho to enforce the visitation of the regulars, which we omit in this place, as it will be sufficiently noticed later.]

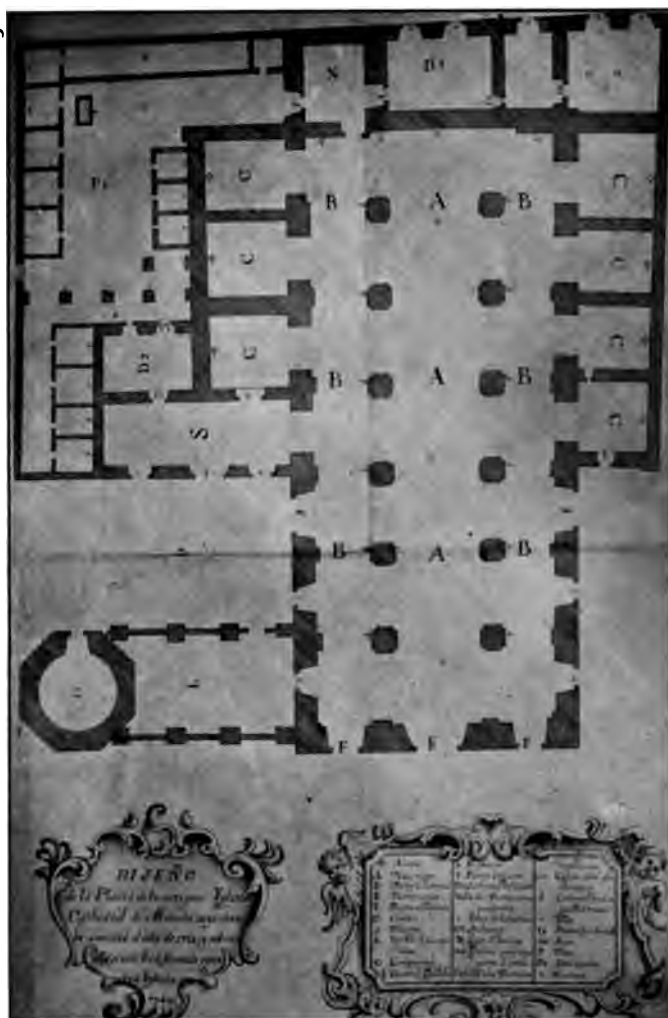
In the beginning, the provinces of América were founded entirely in accordance with the regular institutes of communal houses and convents, with a great number of conventuals; they did not need to take these from the provinces of España, as they could choose plenty from the country. On the contrary in Filipinas we have no more than the convents of Manila, Cebú, and Guadalupe as communal convents – although only the convent of Manila preserves that character; while the others, more than seventy-four in number, are only missions where one single religious lives, and, in a very few, two ministers, according to the size of the village and the ability of the province. The latter is wont often to consist of as many priests as missions, until reënforcements of religious come from España; and if that reënforcement is very slow, then there are generally more missions than religious as priests. What I say here of our order is the same of all the others. It is not so in América, Perú, and Nueva España, where the convents are established totally independent of the missions. They have plenty of religious, and those who belong to the land itself, so that they do not have to send to España for them. Those convents have their incomes by which they are sustained, so that they do not need any of the fees of the missions; and consequently, the orders who wished to retain some missions subject to the ordinary could do so very easily, by assigning some religious to that mission who knew the language of

those villages. Such religious are presented to the vice-patron, who presents them to the bishop. The latter examines them, and gives them the collation of the curacy in regular appointment. They administer that office in subjection to the priors of the convents, and to their visitation and correction in matters concerning the order; and in subjection to the bishops, who hold jurisdiction and visitation over them in regard to any transgressions in their office as curas. Those religious are maintained perpetually in their offices, and the chapters cannot change them to other convents; for they cannot leave their curacies without the intervention of the vice-patron and bishop, who are very loth to change them because of the investigations demanded by the presentation, examination, and collation. Those religious (who are very few) having been dedicated to that office of curas, the others, who consist of almost all the religious of the province who are exempt from that occupation, hold their chapters and change their priors according to the constitutions of the order.

It is not so in these Filipinas, where, as I have said, there are so few religious. Supposing that the plan of Don Juan de Palafox were to be inaugurated, and that all the religious submitted to receive the canonical collation of the curacies in proprietary appointment, the conservation and continued supply of religious would cease. The chapters would cease, for they could not remove the religious from the villages where they were acting as proprietary curas; and it would be necessary to keep them where they had their parishes. Very great difficulties would ensue from that. The province would cease to send

procurators to España to bring back religious; and if the generous motive of coming as apostolic missionaries ceased, they would leave their provinces and fatherland – all the more because of being subject to the bishops, a burden so far from the exemption of the regulars that we watch so carefully. That subjection would have to be not only to the bishop but also to the ecclesiastical governors of a vacant see. There have been so many of the latter in these islands, that in Manila they had them for fourteen years; and in Cebú, Cagayán, and Camarines, for twenty years. The provincials would have nothing left but that name, and would not have entire control over their subordinates. The above and many other representations were made to Archbishop Don Millán de Poblete, and they availed so well with him that he suspended his resolve. The same things were represented to Don Diego Camacho, and these same reasons moved the gentlemen of the royal Council of the Indias to moderate that subjection – leaving it only in the visitation, with the limitations already mentioned, thus enjoining perpetual silence, in regard to erecting the missions into curacies, and to allowing the orders to abandon the ministries of those missions.

The archbishop having put aside his doubt in regard to undertaking the visitation of the regulars, dedicated himself, as a true prelate, to his other obligations. The first one was the building of the cathedral, because of the ruin that occurred in it on the fatal night of St. Andrew in the year 1645; the church of the girls' school of Santa Isabel was being used as a cathedral. He placed his shoulders very earnestly to that so chief obligation, although the



Plan of Manila Cathedral prior to 1750
 [Photographic facsimile from original MS. in Archivo general de
 Indias, Sevilla]

poverty of the times made it difficult for him. He set about collecting materials, and the order of our father St. Augustine lent him the lime-kilns of Birabira, where the best and strongest lime of all the islands is made. The pious and Catholic governor, Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, was the one who conquered the greatest difficulties by collecting a generous alms from the citizens of Manila, and by giving his aid to the archbishop. The building was commenced, and, after the trenches for the foundations had been made, the archbishop clad himself in his pontifical garments and on the twentieth of April, 1654, blessed the first stone, which was carried by General Don Pedro de Mendiola. The master-of-camp, Don Pedro de Almonte, carried on a rich tray a bronze plate with the inscription of the erection of the church. Captain Don Nicolás Sarmiento carried on another tray five silver coins, and Captain Diego Castellanos a box of lead. All went in procession to the place where the stone was to be placed, and the governor and archbishop set it in position, while the litanies were being chanted. In a hollow already made in the stone were placed the plate and coins. The inscription on the plate is as follows:

"While Innocent X was governing the Church, King Felipe IV the Españas, and Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, knight of the Order of Calatrava, the Filipinas Islands, this stone for the building of this holy cathedral – its titular being the Conception, and its patron St. Andrew the apostle – was placed in position by Don Miguel de Poblete, metropolitan archbishop, April 20, 1654."

The building of that cathedral proceeded, as the time, which was very full of troubles, allowed; ac-

cordingly it lasted for many years, two or three years having passed without any work; and its dedication services were held on September 8, 1671. It is of Doric architecture and has three naves, and is very strong, as it is built of heavy stone. It has a reredos of the finest sculpture in these islands. It was completed by Archbishop Don Diego Camacho y Ávila, who built a very beautiful high tower that contains some very fine bells.⁹¹ He also built the sacristy and other parts which were wanting for the completion of the cathedral, and adorned it with a quantity of wrought silver and very rich ornaments and lamps, which he sent from Guadalajara, for he was not forgetful of his first spouse.

CHAPTER XII

Wreck of the galleon "San Diego," the mission that arrived from Nueva España; and the feast of the Conception of our Lady.

This province of ours was very deficient in religious to fulfil its charge of the instruction and teaching of so many villages, which were commended to our care as the first spiritual conquistadors of these remote islands. Nine years had already passed since the last mission had reached this province (in the year 1645), during which sixty religious had died; and, besides, the procurators who had been sent to España to get new missions had suffered the same fate. Father Fray Cristobal Enriquez, although he reached Madrid, and presented himself

⁹¹ This tower resisted all the earthquakes, even the terrible one of 1863, until 1880 when, as it was becoming dilapidated, it was torn down in order to give new form to the cathedral. — TIRSO LOPEZ, O.S.A.

before the royal and supreme Council of the Indias for that purpose, did not obtain a favorable despatch. For, permission having been given him to conduct thirty religious to these islands, and trusting to that and having assembled and conducted many from the provinces of España to Sevilla (in which he had spent the little that he had for that purpose), a new decree was issued in which he was ordered to suspend the transportation of the thirty religious who had been allowed to him, under pretext of inability to equip them because of the many war expenses of that time. The religious who were assembled in Andalucía returned to their provinces; and father Fray Cristobal Enriquez, having spent all his supply money, died in the city of Cáceres, which was his birthplace.

With these losses the province found itself in the greatest need because of the lack of workmen for the missions in its charge, until the arrival in 1654 of the galleon "San Diego" in charge of the commander Pedro Villarroel de la Cuesta – which was wrecked in the beginning of June near the harbor and bay of Manila, as it went aground on an unknown shoal. However, only the hull of the ship was lost and all the men and the cargo were saved. That galleon brought fifteen religious, who had been sent by the provincial of the province of Méjico, by virtue of the authorization given him by the last procurator of this province, Fray Francisco de Victoria, who died in Méjico. The said religious were admitted into this province at a private meeting of the definitors held on June 13 of the said year 1654. They are as follows:

Father Fray Gerónimo de la Serna, who was in

charge of that mission, forty years old, and twenty-five in the habit. He had been a prior with vote three times in his province, and died in the year 1668.

Father Fray José Polanco, a theologian. He was an excellent minister to the Tagálogs and Ilocans, and served in this province for many years with great credit, for he was an able minister and skilled in both languages. He died in the year 1681, in a grievous manner; for, when coming in a champan from the province of Ilocos, where he was prior of the convent of Bauang, the vessel went to pieces and he was drowned together with sixteen persons in the same boat.

Father Fray José de la Cruz, minister of the province of Pampanga, where he rendered much service to the order, and left a lively remembrance of his zeal in the churches of Candaba, Betis, and México, which he built from the foundations with great beauty and strength. He died in the year 1695.

Father Fray Francisco Jordán, an excellent theologian, who was afterward given the title of lecturer. He was a successful minister to the Ilocans, and a good preacher. He died in the year 1666.

The father lecturer Fray Lorenzo de Cisneros, who had taken the habit after he had been a secular priest for many years. He was an able theologian, and had been one of the household of Don Juan de Palafox, whom he had served considerably in his litigations with the regulars of Nueva España. That religious was minister to a Christian village some time in Ilocos; but afterward his mind failed him, and he lived so for many years, suffering the troubles and hardships that so troublesome an in-

firmity causes. I knew him for many years, and he was never furious, but very mild and gentle. Consequently, he was always left unshackled, and gave no other sign of the infirmity from which he was suffering than his outbursts of greatest nonsense. He was ever very affable and courteous. A few days before his death, he recovered his mental faculties; and, after having received all the holy sacraments, he died in great calm in 1662, at an age of more than seventy.

Father Fray Pedro de la Plaza, fifty-three years old, an excellent theologue, who had also been a secular priest for many years, and only had three years of profession. He died in 1665 in the convent of Manila.

The brother chorister, Fray Antonio de Quesada, twenty-two years old, a student in the arts. He seems to have been a minister in the province of Pampanga, and very skilful in that language. He died in 1661.

Brother Fray José de Sotomayor, who was a minister in the province of Ilocos, and died in the year 1665.

Brother Fray Bartolomé de la Torre, twenty-two years old, who had completed his studies. Afterward he became lecturer in arts in the convent of Manila, and was sent to the province of Bisayas, where he was an able minister, definitor, and vicar-provincial. He died in 1684.

Brother Fray Marcos Zapata, a theological student, twenty-two years old and five in the habit; he was a minister in the province of Ilocos, where he died in 1673.

Brother Fray Francisco Flores, of the same age

and [length of time in the] habit, was minister in the province of Tagalos, and died in 1675.

Brother Fray José de Mendoza, twenty years of age, was minister in the province of Ilocos, and a fine preacher in that language. He died in the convent of Manila in 1678.

Brother Fray Luis de Montujar [or Montufar: Pérez] twenty years old, was an excellent minister in the province of Tagalos, definitior, president of the chapter, and my predecessor in the office of commissary of the Holy Office of the Inquisition. He was a very observant religious, and died in 1690.

Brother Fray Domingo de San Miguel, twenty-four years old, a student in the arts. He was a fine religious, of much modesty and great virtue. He served much and well in the province of Ilocos. He became visitor, and died in the Manila convent in 1677.

Brother Fray Miguel de Quesada, nineteen years old. I can find no notice of the province in which he was minister, or of his death.

Fray Antonio de Salcedo (or San Nicolás), a lay-brother, of great virtue and simple humility. He served the Manila convent well, and died in 1690.⁹²

All those religious were natives of Nueva España, and sons of the province of Santísimo Nombre de Jesús of Méjico. Before admitting them as sons of this province, many and great difficulties were experienced.

[Continuing, the author discusses these difficulties, with citation of various authorities. The religious of Nueva España and Peru administer the sacra-

⁹² For notices of all the above Augustinians, see Pérez's *Catálogo*.

ments by authority of the ordinary; while in the Philippines it has been delegated by the popes to the definitors, who sub-delegate it to the various religious. In order to go to the Indias, the consent of the general and of the king is necessary, and is obtained through the royal Council of the Indias. The difficulty arises, then, because these religious have not been previously presented in the above Council. Necessity, however, rules the day, and they are admitted – although the precaution is taken by the heads of the order in the islands to state their intention of obtaining, within six years, the consent and approbation of the royal Council of the Indias to that admission.]

The loss of the galleon "San Diego" was felt keenly, as there was a great lack of ships in these islands because of the repeated shipwrecks of preceding years. But all knew that it was apparently permitted by divine Providence so that they might not have a ship which was built by so many extortions on the natives. That is an irremediable difficulty in the shipyards and in the cutting of timber in these islands, as was seen in the building of that galleon "San Diego," which was built in the time of the most disinterested governor, and one who had the cleanest hands that can be imagined; such was Don Diego Fajardo, who was a wonder in that way. Also as superintendent of its building was appointed the commander Don Pedro de Mendiola, a man as creditable in this particular as the governor. Yet with all that vigilance, great vexations, wrongs, and expenses were heaped on the natives. The chief cause was the foreman and master of the building, who was a Moro named Nadir, who assuredly was

the very opposite ⁸⁸ from the disinterestedness of Don Pedro Mendiola. This man, from one thousand two hundred Indians who were drafted monthly from the provinces of Tondo, Bulacán, Balayán, and Tayabas, occupied scarcely four hundred in the work, and sometimes five hundred. The [service of the] remainder he reduced to money, in which they redeemed their oppression. A curious person, having reckoned the cost of that galleon, found that it had cost the king sixty thousand pesos, and the natives more than one hundred and fifty thousand. This is an evil that has been seen to be irremediable; for it is impossible to build galleons in any other way, because the cutting of the timber must be managed by sailors – a class of men who lack pity, and have too much greed – and because the Indian natives are so weak and so hostile to work that they prefer their ease to all advantage to themselves. This has been the cause of the tumults and insurrections, such as that of Palapag in 1649, and that of the province of Pampanga in 1660; and, in the time of Governor Don Juan de Silva, that of 1614, because of the considerable felling of timber which was occasioned by so much shipbuilding as was caused by the undertaking against the Dutch. Then, most of the provinces of these islands mutinied and almost rose in insurrection; and there was danger of a general outbreak, had not the religious who were ministers in the provinces reduced the minds of the natives to quiet; for they, overburdened by so heavy a load, were at the point of desperation.

[In December of 1654 is celebrated the feast of

⁸⁸ Literally, "he was the nadir of the zenith" of Mendiola's goodness – a pun on the Moro's name.

the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin – which was formally proclaimed as a dogma of the Roman Catholic Church, December 8, 1854. The celebrations in Manila extend over a number of days, and all take part in them. The papal permission for the feast has been obtained from Innocent X by the entreaty of Felipe IV.]

CHAPTER XIII

Wreck at Boronga of the galleon "San Francisco Javier," and the election of our father Fray Alonso Quijano as provincial.

[The loss of the galleon "San Francisco Javier" in the port of Boronga, in the island of Leyte – one of the best harbors in the Philippines – is keenly felt in the islands; and, together with the putting back in 1655 of the two ships "Victoria" and "Santiago," which had sailed for Nueva España, is provocative of much misery. The people of the first-named vessel are all saved, but all the cargo and money are lost. The Filipinos along that coast are the only gainers of the wreck, for they recover much of the money. The loss is investigated by the auditor, Francisco Samaniego Cuesta, who shows himself unnecessarily severe in his investigations. The wreck is looked upon by people generally as a punishment from Heaven for the cruelties practiced on the natives in the building of the "San Francisco Javier." The islands are reduced to a wretched condition "both for the lack of money (although some was recovered from the 'San Francisco Javier'), and because the reënforcements of infantry were delayed which the governor had requested from the duke of

Albuquerque, who was governing Nueva España; as well as through the fact that trade with China had greatly fallen off, because of the lack of the food which preserves it, namely, Mexican pesos."']

Our father provincial, the lecturer Fray Andrés Verdugo, finished the term of his governorship to the universal satisfaction of all because of his great prudence; and all were desirous to reëlect him after the six years had passed, which is the length of time assigned by our rules before the provincial as well as the definitors and visitors can be reëlected. The time for the chapter meeting having arrived, the fathers assembled May 6, 1650, in the convent of Manila. Father Fray José de la Cuesta, the only definitor (as the other three first ones had died) presided over the chapter. As provincial they elected our father Fray Alonso Quijano, a native of Corral de Almaguer in La Mancha, a minister of very long standing in the provinces of Visayas; he was a man of great prudence and wisdom, and great knowledge, and very skilled in the difficult science of commanding. As definitors were elected Fray Dionisio Suárez, the lecturer Fray Baltasar de Herrera⁹⁴ (who afterward joined the Order of St. Francis), the father master Fray Lucas Ortiz,⁹⁵ and father Fray Juan de

⁹⁴ Baltasar Herrera was a native of Extremadura and took the habit in the Salamanca convent. He joined the Philippine province in 1642, and afterward ministered in Sala (1644), Quingua (1645, 1656), Tanaoan (1647), Calumpit (1650), and Parañaque (1653), and was definitor in 1656. He joined the Order of St. Francis, in which he held honorable posts. His death occurred September 2, 1675, before his consecration as bishop of Nueva Cáceres, for which he had been presented. He left various sermons in the Tagalog speech. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 183.

⁹⁵ Lucas Ortiz, a native of Salamanca, professed in the convent of that city; and ministered in the Philippines in Bay (1641), Tambobong (1645, 1657), Bulacán (1647), Pasig (1650, 1654,

Torres.⁹⁶ The visitor of the preceding triennium, father Fray Alonso Clemente⁹⁷ and Fray Pablo Maldonado, were present. They passed acts very suitable to the excellent administration of the missions in our charge, and for the better observance of our rules.

After that chapter had been concluded, not only our order but also the fathers of St. Dominic and our discalced Recollects (who had celebrated their chapters on the same day) were confronted by a great exigency. [This is an order by the governor and royal Audiencia requiring the presentation of the lists of the chapters, as is done in the other parts of the Indias. The Audiencia being petitioned allows the orders to continue their former practice in this regard, after sending an account of the matter to the Council of the Indias. After a digression called forth by this exigency, the author proceeds:]

As soon as the new governor, Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara assumed his office, and had performed his first duties, and had taken the residencia of his

1659, and 1665), and Sala (1656). His conduct while definitor (1656) and prior of Manila (1662), was such that the general of the order gave him the title of Master of Sacred Theology in 1663. He died in 1667. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, pp. 114, 115.

⁹⁶ Juan de Torres was a native of Navarra, and professed in the Toledo convent. In 1641 he was subprior of the Manila convent; in 1644 definitor and prior of Guadalupe; and among the Tagálogs, minister of the villages of Taal (1644), Hagonoy (1647), Tambobong (1656); and Tagudin, in Ilocos, in 1653. He defended the village of Pasig against the Chinese insurgents of 1639. In 1656 he was appointed procurator-commissary to Madrid, but died on shipboard in 1658. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 114.

⁹⁷ Alonso Clemente was a minister to the Bisayan villages of Tigbauan (1629), Otón (1633, 1650, 1656), Laglag and Carcar (1645), San Nicolás (1647), Dumalag (1653); and the Tagálog village of Parañaque (1659). He died in the Bisayas in 1663. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 109.

predecessor and given sentence in the cause of the latter's favorite, he devoted himself with great activity to carrying out such measures as were possible for establishing the prosperity of his government. He found the community of Manila greatly afflicted and weakened by its past troubles and wars, and its wealth exhausted by the lack of commerce with Nueva España, because of the so repeated return of the ships in distress and the wrecking of the galleons. In that year of 1654 was lost a large galleon which was being built in the kingdom of Camboja at great expense to the royal treasury; it was dashed to pieces near Luban, fourteen leguas from Manila, when it was coming here after having been completely finished.

[The remainder of the chapter is concerned with Mindanao affairs, which will be sufficiently noted elsewhere.]

[Chapter xiv treats of the Chinese pirate Kuesing, and of the answer sent him by the governor of the Philippines; chapter xv of the earthquake at Manila, August 20, 1658, and the embassies from Siam and other kingdoms to the governor; and chapter xvi of Mindanao and Joló affairs, all of which will be noted hereafter.]

CHAPTER XVII

Second election as provincial of our father Fray Diego de Ordás; loss of the galleon "Victoria," and insurrection in Pampanga.

During all his three years in the government of this province, our father Fray Alonso de Quijano proved himself a prudent and devout superior – and

such were needed in times so calamitous as were those of which we are writing; for a great deal of misfortune fell to the lot of our province, as we were very short of religious to serve in the hard work of the missions. For as an offset to the small reënforcement that had come in the year 1654 from Nueva España, twenty had died – among whom were the former provincial fathers, Fray Jerónimo Medrano and Fray Andrés Verdugo, who were equivalent to the loss of many, as they were two firm columns of this province. The procurator who was sent during the past years, Fray Cristobal Enríquez, had died in Cáceres, his birthplace, before obtaining a mission, because of the many difficulties that he had to encounter, and that is the main cause of his early death. Father Fray Juan de Torres, who had been despatched after him, died in this Southern Sea while sailing toward Acapulco. Thus did this afflicted province find itself reduced to so short a number of religious that they were unable to sustain so great a weight. That lack of religious was suffered not alone by our province but by all the other orders, who complained of the same affliction; for the loss of so many galleons, and the difficulty in securing despatches in España because of the many war expenses, delayed the reënforcements necessary for the aid of the missions. The worst was, that as they were so few and carried the work of many, more of them died; for they were worn out by the too heavy load which necessity laid upon them. All those adversities were tempered by the wisdom and great prudence of our father Fray Alonso Quijano during his afflicted triennium; for his peaceful countenance quieted the most severe storms, and gave proofs of

the great wealth of prudence and sagacity which reposed in his breast, so that he left all the province desirous of again placing him in the foremost place of the command whenever they had an opportunity of making so wise a choice – as happened in the year 1665, which will be related in its proper place.

When the term of the three years of his government had expired, the day assigned by our rules for the celebration of the new provincial chapter in the Manila convent of San Pablo arrived, namely, May three, 1659. Father Fray Dionisio Suárez, senior definitor of the former chapter, presided. Our father Fray Diego de Ordás was elected for the second time as provincial, by universal accord; but with many objections on his side, for he made as many efforts as possible to escape the election. But the urging of all the capitulars – or, to speak more truly, the great prudence and religious zeal with which he had governed the first time when he was elected, in the year 1647 – was opposed to his resistance. This province has always been very cautious in not handing over the helm of its government to new pilots, even when it has possessed such, skilled and experienced; for more often the election results with but little satisfaction if one trusts to appearances, which are wont to be costly to good government. . . . The system and composition of this province is very different from those of the others in Europa, and needs another kind of competency than what they demand; and so one learns by the road of experience, in which there is usually less error. There is no greater assurance for victory than having already conquered. [Some further reflections similar to the above follow.] As definitors were elected fathers

Fray Pedro Mejía, Fray Pablo Maldonado, Fray Juan de Borja, and Fray José Duque.⁹⁸ The visitors elected were the father lecturer Fray Antonio Carrión⁹⁹ and Fray Isidro Rodríguez.¹⁰⁰ They enacted some very useful ordinances for the good government of the province, and the better prosecution of gospel preaching, to the observance of which great attention was paid during their triennium.

[“All the ten years’ term of the government of the prudent and magnanimous governor, Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, were a fatal period of troubles and disasters, such as these islands had never suffered, so great and continued were they.” A eulogy and partial sketch of the governor follows. Losses of ships, men, and money, and the scanty reënforcements sent from Nueva España – only a hundred soldiers having arrived, while as many have died on the way – are dwelt on. “In addition to that, four

⁹⁸ José Duque, a native of Oropesa, in the province of Toledo, professed in the convent of San Felipe el Real in Madrid. He labored in Gapán (1650), Candaba (1653), Pasig (1656), Sesmoan (1659, 1677), Guagua (1661, 1671, 1681); and was definitor in 1659, prior of Guadalupe and Cebú in 1662 and 1668 respectively, and provincial four times (1674, 1683, 1688, and 1692). He died in 1695. He had aided in the pacification of Pampanga in 1660. See Pérez’s *Catálogo*, p. 117.

⁹⁹ Antonio Carrión became fluent in the Bisayan, Ilocan, and Tagalog tongues. He labored in San Nicolás de Cebú (1645), Tigbauan (1648), Otón (1653), Dumangas (1656), Lauag (1657), Quingua (1662), and Batác (1665). He was prior of Santo Niño (1650), and definitor and prior of Manila (1660), and died in Ilocos in 1665. See Pérez’s *Catálogo*, p. 192.

¹⁰⁰ Isidoro Rodríguez was born in Madrid and took the habit in Salamanca in 1639. He ministered in Macabebe in 1653, in Guagua in 1656, in Sesmoan in 1662, and in Bacolor in 1665. He was commissary-procurator to Madrid and Rome in 1666, returning to Manila in 1669, when he was appointed definitor. He died in 1671. He was a prudent missionary and did good service in the Pampanga insurrection of 1660. See Pérez’s *Catálogo*, p. 119.

galleons had been wrecked, which buried more than five hundred men in these seas – a loss which was the final blow to the prosperity of these islands. . . . One million pesos was all the aid that Don Sabiniano received in ten years, although in years when there were fewer demands on the treasury five hundred thousand were sent from Nueva España annually. And the least cost of the construction of a galleon is sixty thousand, and they are very frequently wrecked because of the turbulence of the seas.” The author mentions a number of disastrous shipwrecks occurring at various times in the islands, describing especially that of the “Victoria” in 1660, which had been sent to Zamboanga and Ternate with reënforcements of men. That wreck occurs while sailing from Iloilo to Zamboanga, and all hands are lost – among them being three Jesuits, Father Francisco Roa,¹⁰¹ the provincial of the Society, Father José Pimentel,¹⁰² and the lay-brother, Lorenzo de Alba.¹⁰³ The chapter closes with the beginning of the insurrection of

¹⁰¹ Francisco Roa was born in Mexico October 9, 1592, and went to Manila at the age of fourteen. He entered the Society May 18, 1609. He worked in the Bisayan missions, and was prior of the Manila convent for six years. During his third provincialate for the Philippine province, he set out (January 6, 1660) to visit the missions and colleges of Zamboanga, but met his death by shipwreck. See Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque*, and Murillo Velarde's *Historia*, fol. 267-268 verso.

¹⁰² José Pimentel was born at Portillo, near Valladolid, September 20, 1607. He entered upon his novitiate April 24, 1624. While still a scholastic he went to the Philippines where he taught grammar. He became procurator of the province and rector of Cavite, Otón, and Antipolo, and master of novices. His death occurred as above. He left a Tagalog dictionary and other works. See Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque*, and Murillo Velarde's *Historia*, fol. 268 verso-269.

¹⁰³ Correctly, Lorenzo de Iba. He was born in Caller de Cerdaña, and arrived as a lay brother in the Philippines in 1651. He

the Pampangos in 1660, "the most warlike and noble people in these islands, and near Manila."]

[That insurrection is continued in chapter xviii, and that chapter and the two following deal also with the insurrection of the Pangasinans in 1660-1661. Chapter xxi deals with the raid of the Pangasinans and Zambals into the province of Ilocos in 1660-61, and the insurrection of the latter people is continued also in the three following chapters. All of these insurrections will be dealt with later in this series.]

CHAPTER XXV

Second election of the father provincial, Fray Alonso Coronel, and of the events concerning the pirate Kuesing (Pompoán).

(1662)

Under the mild and pacific government of our father provincial Fray Diego de Ordás, this afflicted province was able to lift the burden of so many troubles as the adversity of the times and the great lack of religious occasioned. That lack increased to the pass that many were giving out under the heavy burden that necessity forced them to assume; for those most privileged by their age and by sickness carried burdens that were enough for two, and most of them the burden of three, so that many succumbed and made the lack greater. With these disasters came the time for the celebration of a new chapter, to the great sorrow of all the province at taking farewell of the mild and prudent government of our father

was twenty-two years in the Society, and on account of his abilities had accompanied Miguel Solana to Macao. See Murillo Velarde's *Historia*, fol. 269.

Fray Diego de Ordás. They also grieved because there were few experienced persons to substitute in his place; for a time so full of dangers needed a pilot experienced in the government of a province so assailed by its adversaries.

The capitular members assembled in the Manila convent, and all were unanimous in [their purpose to] elect as provincial father Fray José de la Cuesta, prior of Bulacán, an able religious. He was very learned and experienced in the Greek language, which chair he had filled by substitution in the university of Salamanca, because of the death of his father, Master Andrés de la Cuesta Olmedo, the regularly-appointed professor of that subject. But that hope was frustrated, for God had taken him to himself two days before the chapter, to the general sorrow of all the province – especially of our father Fray Diego de Ordás, who had brought him from his province of Castilla in the fine mission that entered this province in the year 1635. Accordingly, the chapter was convened under the presidency of father Fray Juan de Borja, the third definitor, because of the deaths of the [two] others, Fray Pedro Mejía and Fray Pablo Maldonado. Our father, Fray Alonso Coronel,¹⁰⁴ a religious of great virtue and prudence, and such an one as the times needed –

¹⁰⁴ Alonso Coronel was a son of the convent of Burgos, and after going to the Philippines, ministered to the villages of Lipa (1639), Guiguinto (1642), Caruyan (1648), Malate (1650), Bay (1657), and Tambobong (1659), and was preacher in Cebú for some time. Elected provincial in 1662, he founded new missions in the mountains on the confines of Cagayán, and inspired his religious to oppose Kue-sing. After his provincialate he lived retired in the Manila convent until his death in 1668. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 111.

also of the said mission conducted by our father Fray Diego de Ordás – was elected, April 29, 1662. The definitors elected in the chapter were fathers Fray Gonzalo de la Palma,¹⁰⁶ Fray Luis de Medina,¹⁰⁶ Fray Isidro Rodríguez, and the lecturer Fray Antonio Carrión, and the visitors, father Fray Juan de Vergara¹⁰⁷ and Fray Juan de Isla.¹⁰⁸ They passed the acts necessary for the efficient government of the province and for the administration of the doctrinas where were missions of new reductions of people, especially on the outskirts of the province of Ilocos – which is also the farthest [from Manila] in this great island called Luzón. There father Fray Be-

¹⁰⁶ Gonzalo de la Palma was born in Toledo. He ministered to the Ilocan villages of Santa Cruz (1636) and Bacarra (1638), and was procurator-general in 1642. After having been appointed commissary to Madrid in 1644, he returned to the Philippines, and was prior of Cebú and of Sesmoan in 1653; was procurator-general in 1653, and had charge of the villages of Malate and Batác in 1657 and 1659 respectively; of the priorate of Guadalupe, while definitor in 1662; and of the villages of Betis (1666) and Lubao (1668). He aided in the pacification of the insurgents of 1660, and wrote a book on volcanoes. His death occurred in 1687.

¹⁰⁶ Luis de Medina professed in the Sevilla convent in 1630, and went to Manila in 1650. That same year he was appointed procurator-general, and afterward directed the ministries of Laoag (1654) and Dingras (1662). He presided at the chapter of 1665, and died in 1667 of a mental disorder. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 122.

¹⁰⁷ Juan Vergara was born in Madrid and took the habit in the same city. He labored in Agoó (1641), Narvacán (1644), Bantay and Batác (1653 and 1668), Candón (1665), Lipa (1659), and Pasig (1662 and 1671). The office of definitor fell to him in 1668, and he was prior of the Manila convent in 1669 and commissary of the Holy Office. He died in Manila in 1675. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 111.

¹⁰⁸ Juan de la Isla, native of Écija and son of the province of Mechoacán, became a minister in Aráyat (1645), Sesmoán (1647), Batác (1650), Candón (1653 and 1657), Candaba (1656), Bantay (1660), Bauang (1665), and Tagudin (1666).

nito de Mena ¹⁰⁹ was progressing finely with the conversion of the Indians of Aclán and Vera in the mountains contiguous to Cagayán, of which we shall treat more fully hereafter.

[All the past dangers and difficulties are now overshadowed by the attempts of the Chinese pirate Kuesing, the recital of which takes up the rest of this chapter and the following one. Chapter xxvii deals principally with the rising by the Chinese of the Manila Parián, and their punishment (1662-63); and chapter xxviii, with raids of the Joloans and Mindanaos among the Visayas (1662-63), in which father Fray Francisco de Mesa, O.S.A., ¹¹⁰ loses his life. These various topics will be sufficiently treated hereafter.]

CHAPTER XXIX

*Arrival of the new governor, Don Diego Salcedo;
and of the mission of religious which came the
same year.*

(1663-64)

It was the will of divine Providence that, after so many and continual returns of the galleons to port, In 1648 he was procurator-general in Manila. He died in 1669. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 112.

¹⁰⁹ Benito Mena Salazar was a native of Vigan, the son of a Spanish encomendero, and took the habit in Manila, June 2, 1659. He ministered in the provinces of Ilocos and Cagayán, being fluent in the languages of those districts. He made many conversions among the Apayaos, and founded the villages of Bangui, Adán, Vera, and Bangbang; and ministered in the villages of Bacarra (1666 and 1671), Sinait (1668), and Candón (1669 and 1674). He died in Bacarra in 1676. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 202.

¹¹⁰ Francisco de Mesa was born in Mexico and professed in Manila October 31, 1644. His field of labor lay in Dumalag (1656) and Laglag (1659). He was killed in 1663 in Malonor, a visita of Laglag. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 199.

as aforesaid, the ship "San José" which had left the port of Cavite in the past year of 1662 under charge of Commander Francisco García del Fresno – a native of Cadiz, and very skilful on the sea; and afterward artillery general for his Majesty – should reach Nueva España in safety. The viceroy of Nueva España was the conde de Baños, Marqués de Labrada,¹¹¹ who, after he became a widower, left the vanities of the world, took the discalced Carmelite habit, was ordained a priest, and died, bequeathing fine examples of virtue and admonition. His example was later followed by his son, Don Juan de Leiva, who received the habit of a lay religious of our father St. Augustine in the convent of San Felipe in Madrid. The successor of Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, namely, the master-of-camp Don Diego Salcedo, a native of Bruselas – a son of a Spanish gentleman (a native of Cuenca) and a Flemish lady – was then in the city of Méjico. He had been a very brave soldier in the Low Countries for many years, and for his services had been made master-of-camp of an army of Walloons.¹¹² For that reason, and because he was a favorite of Don Juan de Austria, whose captain of the guard he is said to have been, he was granted the government of these islands. On account of the fact that so many gal-

¹¹¹ Juan de Leiva y de la Cerda, marqués de Leiva y de la Labrada, Conde de Baños (or, as he is also called, Juan de la Cueva Leiva y Labrada) was the twenty-third viceroy of New Spain. He committed various arbitrary acts, and otherwise proved his unfitness for his position. His rule lasted from September 16, 1660 (although he arrived at Vera Cruz in July) to June 1664, when he was superseded by Archbishop Osorio. See Bancroft's *History of Mexico*, iii, pp. 164-167.

¹¹² The body guard of the Spanish monarch was formerly of Walloons and was known as the Walloon guard.

leons had put back [to these islands] he had been detained in Méjico for several years.

In the same city was also found father Fray José de Paternina,¹¹³ a son of the convent of Badaya, who had been detained for three years with a mission of ten religious who had been sent from the province of Castilla by the procurators of this province of Filipinas, the father masters Fray Gaspar de Lorenzana and Fray Francisco de Aguilera. That mission was conducted with the money which was left owing to this province by its procurator and definitor, Fray Cristóbal Enríquez, who had died in the city of Cáceres, his native place.

At that time our most reverend father-general of all the Order of St. Augustine, the master Fray Pablo Luquino, was at the court of Madrid. He had gone to visit the provinces of España and Portugal. Moved by his great zeal, he aided greatly with his authority in the collection of that mission, which was small because of the scarcity of means for its transportation, but large because of the great lack of religious in this province. As his vicar and prelate of that mission, he appointed father Fray Diego de Jesús, a son of the convent of Salamanca and a native of Béjar, and then master of novices in the convent of San Felipe in Madrid. But the latter having petitioned our most reverend father-general to be ex-

¹¹³ José Paternina, a native of Bastida in the province of Álava, professed in the convent of Badaya. In the Philippines he became prior of the convents of San Pablo of Manila and of Guadalupe (1668). He served as commissary of the Holy Office for some years, but was removed from that post because the tribunal of Mexico censured his conduct toward Governor Diego Salcedo (see account of his proceedings against Salcedo *ante*, pp. 23-25). His death occurred in 1674, while en route to Nueva España. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 126. See also VOL. XXVIII, p. 112.

cused from it, because of legitimate reasons that he had, father Fray José de Paternina, a native of the town of Álava, and son of the convent of Santa Catalina in Badaya, was assigned for that duty in his place. He conducted eleven religious of the province of Castilla and of this province, as they were given the habit in order to pass thither.¹¹⁴ They reached Méjico, where they were detained three years because of the lack of the galleons from these islands, as we have related.

At the same time Don Andrés de Medina, with a Peruvian gentleman, a man most skilful in astrology, mathematics, and cosmography, had arrived at Méjico from Madrid. He had offered to his Majesty to discover the islands called Salomón because of their great wealth.¹¹⁵ These are the islands which Adelantado Álvaro de Mendaña y Neira went to discover in the year 1595, with four vessels which he took from Callao in April of the said year. His chief pilot was Pedro Fernández de Quirós, who is mentioned in the first part, book 3, chapter 16, page 476.¹¹⁶ After having endured many hardships, and after the adelantado had died, his men reached the port of Cavite under command of the adelantado's wife, Doña Isabel Barreto, in February of 1596, and later returned to Nueva España in the galleon "San Gerónimo." Mention of that discovery will be found

¹¹⁴ Before the foundation of the college of Valladolid, the father-commissaries of the Filipinas admitted youths to the religious habit, and placed them in the novitiates of España, until they made their profession, which was received by the above-mentioned father-commissaries. — TIRSO LOPEZ, O.S.A.

¹¹⁵ See VOL. XV, pp. 102, 103, note 66; and pp. 102-116.

¹¹⁶ *i.e.*, in San Agustin's *Conquistas de las Islas Philipinas* (Madrid, 1698).

in the relations of Doctor Don Antonio de Morga, which I omit here, as it is foreign to our subject. Don Andrés de Medina brought royal decrees ordering the viceroy of Nueva España to give him vessels in the South Sea, and men, for that discovery and conquest; but it was impossible to do so at that time, because of the lack of ships, which is constant on the said sea. However, in order to content him, because of the letters and decrees that he bore, the viceroy, Conde de Baños, appointed him commander of the galleon "San José," after removing its commander, Francisco García del Fresno, who had brought the galleon from Filipinas. That was contrary to the royal ordinance, which prohibits the viceroys to change the commanders (unless the commander has died), and those who have the future succession to the governorship of the Filipinas.

When the time arrived, Governor Don Diego de Salcedo embarked, taking with him the most distinguished train of people that has been seen on any occasion. For of captains alone there were twenty-six, and I think it advisable to inscribe their names here, because of the great honor and prestige that they brought to the community of Manila. They were as follows: Don Antonio Sanchez de Quirós, ex-captain of cuirassiers in Flandes; Juan Martínez Corrionero, alférez and adjutant in Flandes; Don Francisco de Moya, Don Juan de Briones, and Don Tomás de Castro Andrade;¹¹⁷ Don Pedro de la Peña Maceda, a soldier of Flandes; Don Antonio Xigundi;

¹¹⁷ In the Archivo general de Indias at Sevilla are two manuscript plans (one of Manila and the other of Cavite) which were made about 1762 by a man of this name, evidently a descendant of the man mentioned here.

Don Francisco and Don Martín de Tejada, brothers; Don Luis Matienzo, Don Juan de Guzman, Don Pedro Mendiguerren, and Don José Alsara; Don José Cornices, and Don Gonzalo Samaniego; Juan de Alquica, a brave Vizcayan; Juan de Palomares Castro, Don Juan de Pimentel, Don Feliciano Velázquez, and Don Joaquin Ramírez; Don Francisco Vanderváez, Don Alonso Valdés, and Don Juan Giménez; Don Pedro de la Mancha, Don Diego Castañeda, and Don Miguel de Alegría; the chief pilot, Leandro Cuello; and others. Two auditors embarked, namely, Licentiate Don Francisco de Coloma Maceda, and Licentiate Don Francisco de Mansilla Montemayor; and many other persons of account.

Father Fray José de Paternina, whom the Inquisitors of Méjico had appointed commissary of the Holy Office for the city of Manila, embarked with eleven of our religious; and father Fray Cristobal de Santa Mónica, of the discalced religious of our father St. Augustine, with another fine and more numerous mission – among whom was that virtuous and erudite preacher, Fray Isidoro de Jesús María, one of the best preachers of that century, whose sermons might arouse admiration in Europa. Where he surpassed, moreover, was in those that he preached, for twenty consecutive years, on the sorrows of most holy Mary. But his sermons did not have the good fortune to be printed, except the first on that subject, and a few others on other festal occasions.

Governor Don Diego was very angry at the affront that the viceroy had put upon the commander, Francisco García del Fresno, without any authority

for it beyond the mere authority of viceroy. Therefore, as soon as the galleon left the port of Acapulco and had lost sight of land, he ordered the drums to be beaten, and deprived the commander Don Andrés de Medina of his office, which he restored to Francisco García. When that was learned in the royal and supreme Council of the Indias, his Majesty approved of it, and issued a new decree ordering the viceroys of Nueva España not to change the commanders or those who were to succeed in the second place [as governor]. Don Andrés de Medina, being a wise and prudent man, made no resistance, except that he retired to the quarters of the boatswain, from which he did not emerge until the galleon after many months cast anchor at Cavite.

The galleon "San José" sighted these islands late, and, as the vendavals had set in, could not make port in either Palapag or Lampón. After having suffered many storms they were obliged to make port in the most remote and unsuitable harbor—namely, that of Pasipit, in the province of Cagayán, which lies in 19 degrees north latitude. The governor, the auditors, and the two missions disembarked, and after many hardships traversed five provinces by land, three of which (Ilocos, Pampanga, and Bulacán) were in our charge, and two (Cagayán and Pangasinán) in charge of the religious of St. Dominic. Our small mission was so unfortunate that three of them died in the province of Ilocos: namely, father Fray Tomás de Villanueva, a religious already aged, of the province of Castilla; brother Fray Bartolomé de Grecia, a native of La Mancha; and father Fray Juan de Ezquerro. The other eight reached Manila after so long a journey; and these

were received there [with the demonstrations] that the great lack of religious in the province demanded. They were as follows:

The father-commissary of the Holy Office, Fray José de Paternina, son of the convent of Badaya, forty years old. He became prior of Manila and Guadalupe, and died at sea in the year 1674.

Father Fray Juan García, of the convent of Burgos, and a native of Álava. He was an excellent and efficient minister in the province of Ilocos. He went to España and Roma as procurator for this province, whence he returned with a plentiful mission of religious in the year 1679. He returned to the province of Ilocos, where he died in the year 1699 with the reputation of great virtue.

Father Fray Pedro Martínez, son of the convent of Burgos and native of Las Encartaciones;¹¹⁸ an able minister in the province of Ilocos, where he was vicar-provincial, and came to be definitor of our province. He was a religious of great virtue, mildness, and peaceableness. His death occurred in Manila, in the year 1683.

Father Fray Juan de Guedeja, native of Salamanca, son of that convent, and thirty years old. He was a minister in Pampanga, and very skilful in that language. He was a religious of various capacities, and was greatly beloved for his gentleness. He was occupied in honorable posts in this province, and died in the year 1689.

Father Fray Francisco Muñoz, son of the same

¹¹⁸ These are certain villages in the mountains of Burgos, adjacent to the domain of Vizcaya – the privileges granted to which are enjoyed by these villages, in virtue of letters and concessions from the kings. (Dominguez's *Diccionario nacional*.)

convent of Burgos and native of Álava, thirty years old. He was a zealous minister in the province of Ilocos, where he died in the year 1687.

Father Fray Diego Gutiérrez, native of Madrid, son of the convent of San Felipe, twenty-eight years old and eight years in the habit. He was an excellent minister in the province of Tagalos, and died in the year 1676.

Father Fray Nicolás de la Cruz, native of Zalaya, son of the convent of San Felipe, twenty-eight years old. He was a minister in the provinces of Bisayas, and died in Cebú in the year 1675.

Brother Fray Diego de la Puente, native of Madrid, son of this province, twenty-one years old. He was a minister in the province of Pampanga, and very fluent in that language. He was a religious in whom were reposed great hopes, which were disappointed by his early death in 1677.

Brother Fray Juan de Ibarra, native of Durango, son of this province. He was a minister in Ilocos for a short time; most of his life (which was very long), he passed in the convent of Manila, where he was an example of poverty and humility, and where he died in 1713, aged 75.¹¹⁹

Of the two auditors the senior in rank, by concession of his Majesty, was Don Francisco Coloma. But Don Francisco Mansilla, as he was stronger and younger went on ahead in forced journeys, and took possession of his seat in the royal Audiencia. After a considerable time, Don Francisco de Coloma arrived, and demanded the seniority that belonged to him by precedence in their appointments as auditor.

¹¹⁹ For sketches of the above religious, see Pérez's *Catálogo*, pp. 126-128.

Don Francisco de Mansilla alleged the act of prior possession; and that gave rise to a suit that caused great trouble, as will be seen later.¹²⁰ The sentence was sent to the supreme Council of the Indias, and the preference was given to Don Francisco de Coloma, in whose favor the declaration from España came after a number of years.

[One of the first acts of the new governor is the taking of the previous governor's residencia which is entrusted to Auditor Coloma. Many complaints are made by the citizens; for the government of Filipinas "as it is more absolute, is more apt to create dissatisfaction," arising from the governor's severity, or from envy. He is, however, cleared of all charges in Spain; and 60,000 pesos that he has been compelled to deposit are returned to him from the treasury of Mexico.]

Don Diego Salcedo commenced his government with the disaster of the return in distress of the ship "San Sabiniano," under charge of Commander Juan de Chaves. That caused great affliction, since no

¹²⁰ A long and unsigned document in the Ventura del Arco MSS. (Ayer library) ii, pp. 493-618, gives minute details of these events in 1668, and explains thus the controversy between the auditors: Salcedo's galleon landed on the Cagayán coast, and it became necessary for him and his retinue and soldiers to make the overland trip to Manila, carrying thither the money and treasure that he had brought. The trip was long, wearisome, and dangerous; Mansilla pushed ahead by other routes to reach Manila first, and had his priority officially recorded at once. Moreover, Mansilla bought up warrants for arrearages of pay due the soldiers, and turned in these for his *media anata* (see VOL. XXIV, p. 307) to the royal treasury; "and with less than 300 pesos he made good his entire media anata, each third of which [alluding to the payment of the year's salary in three instalments] amounted to 909 pesos 7 tomins." But the governor learning of this, obliged him to make good the sum due, in cash. A suit for the priority claimed arose between the auditors, which was decided in favor of Coloma.

galleon had succeeded in making its voyage to Nueva España in safety. But divine clemency willed that better success should be experienced by the first galleon that he despatched during his government, namely, the "San José" – the vessel in which he had come, and in which Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara returned to Nueva España. That galleon was the most fortunate of all that have been built in these islands, for it never had to put back in distress, and lasted for many years. It brought two governors to Filipinas, Don Diego de Salcedo and Don Manuel de León; besides taking back in safety the other, Don Sabiniano.

[Andrés de Medina, who had been deposed by the new governor on the high sea from his ill-gotten command, obtains permission from the latter after their arrival in the islands to go wherever he wishes, to secure treatment for the illness from which he is suffering. He has a ship prepared secretly, and goes first to Bolinao, "where he discharged and paid the rowers. With the aid of father Fray Juan de la Santísima Trinidad – a discalced Augustinian religious who was minister of that village, and afterward provincial of that province of San Nicolás – ship's-stores and all else needed for the voyage were prepared, and they crossed the sea toward the west to the mainland of CochinChina, where it appears that they arrived; and where the natives of that country murdered them for the sake of robbing them." Some of their merchandise, and some of the mathematical instruments belonging to Medina are afterward offered for sale to some Portuguese who go to CochinChina.]

Governor Don Diego de Salcedo was a man of

great intelligence and wisdom, and commenced to govern to the satisfaction of all. His first measure was to place on the stocks the galleon "Nuestra Señora de la Concepción" a work of the great master, Juan Bautista Nicolás. He sent ambassadors to the surrounding kingdoms to build up the commerce which is the mainspring of the community of Manila and all these islands. He sent the commander Don Juan de Vergara to the kingdom of Camboja, accompanied by Captain Fernando Quintela, to discuss the building of galleons in that kingdom. That mission had no effect, however. He sent Don José de la Vega, a native of Manila, treasurer of the royal exchequer, a man of great intelligence and capacity, to the kingdom of Banta; and Don Francisco Enríquez de Losada to the kingdom of Siam. All complied with the obligation of their duty, which was directed to the establishment of commerce and friendly relations. He also sent Don Juan de Zalaeta to Batavia to buy anchors for his galleons, as there were no smithies in Filipinas where they could be made of the size demanded by those galleons. That commerce was very good in his time, and Captains Juan de Ergueza, Diego de Palencia, and others made repeated voyages, and brought back quantities of cinnamon and spices which are very profitable to the commerce of Nueva España. In these and other arrangements and provisions the whole year 1664 passed during which time no event of consideration, or any worth writing, occurred.

CHAPTER XXX

Second election as provincial of our father Fray Alonso Quijano; conversion of the villages of Aclán and Vera; the undertakings of Admiral Pedro Durán against the Igolotes; death of our father the ex-provincial Fray Diego de Ordax; and other events.

(1665-67)

Our father Fray Alonso Coronel having completed the term of three years of his government—which was filled with fears and hardships, because of the unfortunate events that we have just related in the threats of the pirate Kuesing Pompoán—the time assigned for the celebration of the chapter in the convent of Manila arrived, namely, April 25, 1665. The senior father definitor, Fray Luis de Medina, presided at that chapter, in which our father Fray Alonso Quijano was elected for the second time, as he was a person of whom this province had experienced the worthiness of administering the government of it; for he had ruled so efficiently during the triennium when he was provincial the first time. As definitors were elected the following fathers: Fray Tomás de Villanueva, Fray Cosme de Hiz,¹²¹ Fray Francisco del Moral,¹²² and Fray En-

¹²¹ Cosme de Ays (*sic* in Pérez, *not* Hiz) was a native of Valencia, and after going to the Philippines labored in the Ilocan villages of Purao (1641), Agoó (1647), Tagudín (1650), Narvacán (1650-56), Bantay (1659), Candón (1660), and Baoang (1662). He became definitor in 1665, and probably died about the end of 1667, as no further mention is made of him in the books of the order. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 114.

¹²² Francisco del Moral was a minister to the Tagálogs in Batangas (1651), Bay (1654 and 1668), San Pablo (1656), Pasig (1666), and Malate (1661); and died insane at Manila, in 1672. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 192.

rique de Castro.¹²³ The visitors of the past triennium were present, fathers Fray José de Mendoza,¹²⁴ and Fray Francisco de Medina de Basco,¹²⁵ and as new visitors were elected the father lecturer Fray Cristobal Marroquí¹²⁶ and Fray Carlos Bautista.¹²⁷ They passed very useful acts for the efficient government of the province, and such that one recognizes the

¹²³ Enrique Castro was born in Madrid. His labors in the Philippines extended to the villages of Pórac (1647), Candaba (1648), Apálit (1654), Macabebe (1655), México (1656), Betis (1668), and Bacolór (1671). He served as procurator-general in 1654 and was elected definitor in 1665. His death occurred in 1676, and he left several volumes of sermons in the Pampango language which are no longer in existence. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 116.

¹²⁴ José de Mendoza was born in 1634, and took the habit in 1651. He ministered in the missions of Tanauan (1653), Hagonoy (1654 and 1666), Parañaque (1656), Malolos (1657), Tambobong (1669), Bauan (1674), Purao (1674), and Batác (1677). He was elected definitor in 1671, and prior of the Manila convent in 1679, where he died that same year. He was an excellent Ilocan orator. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 125.

¹²⁵ Francisco de Medina Basco, a native of Toledo, performed mission work in the Filipino villages of Pórac (1642), Lubao (1647), Guagua (1650), Betis (1656), Candaba (1657), Bacolór (1659), and Taguig. He served as definitor for the triennium beginning in 1665, as provincial secretary in 1667, and as provincial in 1671 (being confirmed in that office by the general of all the order, although his election was contested by some as being anticanonical). He died at Cebú in 1672. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 112.

¹²⁶ Cristóbal Marroquí (*sic*) was born in Sevilla and professed in the convent of Lima, where he became a lecturer. In the Philippines he labored in Santa Cruz in Ilocos (1648); and in the Tagalog provinces in Tiaong (1651), Bauan and Minalin (1659), and later at Parañaque, Bay, Pasig, and Quingua. He died in 1674. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 116.

¹²⁷ Carlos Bautista, a native of Mexico, professed in Manila, October 25, 1642. Before his death at Tondo in 1681, he had labored in Caruyan (1656), Sala (1657), Tambobong (1662), Malate (1663), Parañaque (1665, 1674, 1676), Taal (1672), Quingua (1680), and Tondo (1681), besides being definitor in 1680.

care and vigilance that were taken in preventing the slightest neglect in matters pertaining to the regular observance, and in the care for better administration in the office of parish priest. In that chapter was renewed once more the urgent request of the governor for the list of the appointments of prior-ministers. But it was resolved not to establish such a precedent and they were aided in that by the fathers of St. Dominic, who also held their chapter on the same day – when they elected as their provincial father Fray Juan de los Angeles, who was worthy of that name because of his many virtues.

The new provincial, seeing the lack of religious from which this province was suffering, on account of its failure to receive large missions, which would furnish abundant workers for the maintenance of so many and remote convents and missions as were in its charge – for, although diligent efforts had been made to remedy that lack, three procurators who had been sent to España had died; and the third, father Fray José Botoño, after having been forced to put back to port twice, died during the voyage, the third time when he embarked – appointed for that duty father Fray Isidro Rodríguez, a native of Madrid and minister of the province of Pampanga, of whom we have given a memorial in the [relation of the] insurrection of the said province. That was an excellent appointment, for he made his voyage successfully, having embarked on the galleon “Nuestra Señora de la Concepción,” under command of the commander José de Zamora. He brought back the most numerous mission that had thus far entered these islands.

On June 17, 1665, the fortunate galleon “San José”

arrived at the port of Cavite, with the most illustrious bishop of Cebú, already consecrated, the master Don Fray Juan López, of the Order of Preachers, native of Martín-Muñoz de las Pasadas. He was a prelate who gave great consolation to the Christian people of these islands – both in the bishopric of Cebú, where he remained for seven years; and in Manila, where he died archbishop-elect in the year 1674, after having suffered many cares. He was a very learned and affable prelate, and was accordingly greatly beloved by all. In the same galleon came also the auditor Licentiate Don Juan de Peña Bonifáz, a native of Segovia, of whom there will be much to say in due time, because of his beginning to govern the military department in the year 1668, which was the origin of great disturbances.

Near the boundaries of the province of Ilocos, in the mountains of Cape Engaño, near the province of Cagayán, belonging to the mission of the convent of Bacarra, the conversion of the natives of the villages of Aclán and Vera (now Bangbanglo) was commenced that year by the ardent zeal and diligence of father Fray Benito de Mena, a native of Manila and son of our Manila convent San Pablo; he was a religious of great virtue, and one very fluent in the tongues of Ilocos and Cagayán. Those villages are more than twenty leguas distant from the central town Bacarra; and their people are a barbarous and spirited nation, and for that reason are feared by the Indians round about. They are known by the name of Payaos.¹²⁸ That nation had not received the light

¹²⁸ These are the Apayaos, a non-Christian tribe living in the district of Ayangan, in the comandancia of Quiangán (*Census Phil. Islands*, 1903, i, p. 469). Blumentritt (*Tribes of Philip-*

of the holy gospel, because of the ruggedness of their mountains. They were living in the darkness of their blind paganism, protected by the inaccessibility of those lofty mountains, and exempt from the yoke of subjection – the only means by which one is able to introduce the evangelical preaching among barbarous nations. For since they are the last nations whom the Celestial Paterfamilias invites to the banquet of glory, which so many noble and civilized nations have despised, in them is verified the command to make them enter by means of force: *Compelle intrare, ut impleatur domus mea.*¹²⁰ . . .

Father Fray Benito, moved to piety by his great zeal at seeing how difficult it was for those natives to receive the knowledge of our faith in that way, as they were remote and invincible, having first consulted with God in prayer, determined to enter those mountains, accompanied, in order to remove suspicions, by only the few whom he could take. He went to the village of Bañgui, the last visita of Bacarra, where he established a military base [*plaza de armas*] for that spiritual conquest. Bañgui is distant four long leguas from the first settlement of the Payaos, and one must ascend a river with a strong current. Wisely repeating his entrances by means of that river, he introduced himself gradually among them, and preached the holy gospel to them, which they heard without any difficulty, as they are a people who have but little tenacity in holding to their heathen ceremonies. They only practice various

pinas, Mason's translation) describes them as headhunters and living in the northwestern portion of Cagayán in Luzón, and adjoining portions of Ilocos Norte and Abra.

¹²⁰ Luke xiv, v. 23.

superstitions, auguries, and a servile worship to the souls of their first progenitors – whom they revered not as gods, but like the Indigetes¹⁸⁰ of the Romans, to whom the people offered sacrifices to keep them propitious. This method of worshiping deceased ancestors is very common in these Filipinas, and very difficult to stamp out, even in those who are to all appearances faithful Christians. For in this regard fear has a great influence over them; and most of them believe that it is not opposed to the Christian faith to place on one and the same altar the ark of the testament and the idol Dagón. . . . But scarce a trace of this malign belief is to be found in the villages near Manila.

[Many miracles and prodigies influence those rude people to receive baptism. Especially efficacious for the faith is the resurrection of a child who has died, and who after receiving holy baptism dies again (five hundred and two persons becoming baptized in consequence). A leper is also healed with the ceremony of baptism. The chief seeks salvation in the holy waters before his death. The new converts prove exceptionally clever in learning the prayers and the Christian doctrine, a night or a day often sufficing.]

Great were the troubles that father Fray Benito de Mena suffered in that conversion, because of the steepness of the mountains, and because there was no lack of ministers of Satan among the Payaos who endeavored to dissuade the people from what that religious was teaching them. But he, persevering in teaching them the truth until the year 1668, at-

¹⁸⁰ Heroes elevated to the rank of gods after their death, and regarded as the patron deities of their country.

tained the fruit of his fatigue; for he converted so many that he was able to found the three villages of Aclán, Vera, and Bangbanglo, which were administered in the church that he built in the village of Aclán under the advocacy of St. Catherine, virgin and martyr. Those villages are today a part of the ministry of Bañgui, the most remote of all this island of Manila. A settled minister is assigned to it when there are plenty of religious in this province for such work. When there is the greatest lack of religious, the administration is under the charge of the prior and minister of the village of Bacarra.

The villages of Aclán and Vera are very useful as frontiers opposed to the Calanasas, a cruel heathen nation; and for that reason the governors of Manila have exempted them from paying tribute. That religious Fray Benito de Mena was an able evangelical minister, and obtained much fruit in the province of Ilocos. He was much given to prayer and mortification; and a long chapter could be written of his life, if the notices of the curious prodigies that happened to him had not been lost – events in the conversion of the Indians of the mountains of Aclán and Vera, and in other villages of that province, where he died holily as prior of the convent of Bacarra in 1676.

Don Diego de Salcedo, having heard of the remote nations who were living free from the yoke of political subjection in the larger and better part of the island of Manila, and who possessed the best lands of the fertile forests of Ilocos – the worst thing being that they were living in the Cimmerian darkness of paganism, and that so many souls were being lost because of our neglect and carelessness; and seeing

that the islands, harassed for so many years by the insurrections of those natives and the threats of foreigners, seemed to be quiet (for the gates of the temple of Janus were shut in his time, which had been open during all the terms of his three predecessors): planned to undertake some conquest that would result to the honor of God and extend the Spanish government. He assembled the most experienced and skilful captains of those islands and the provincials of the orders, as they were the ones who would have the greatest part in the preservation and continual increase of what would be conquered. All thought that the best field of conquest in which to employ their arms with some profit was the mountains of Ilocos, where the Igolotes lived in broad and fertile lands, abounding not only in food but in minerals rich in gold – which the natives themselves bring in great plenty to Pangasinán and Ilocos to barter for clothes, salt, and other things which they need.

The Igolotes¹⁸¹ are a barbaric race of scanty intelligence. They are of lighter complexion than the other natives, both because they are born in a cooler climate and because they are descended, according to their own traditions, from Chinese who were shipwrecked on those coasts long before the Spaniards arrived in those islands, as say their barbaric and confused accounts. That assertion is proved by the closeness with which their customs approach those of the Chinese although they are not provided with a regular government, or civilized, as are the latter.

¹⁸¹ See Albert Ernest Jenks's excellent monograph "The Bontoc Igorot," in vol. i of *Ethnological Survey Publications* (Manila, 1905).

For they are deceitful, cunning, and cruel, a sign of their cowardice. Accordingly, they never undertake any warlike deed unless it promises them perfect security; and to such an extent is that true that it is sufficient for one to fall to make them all seek safety in flight. Therefore they do considerable harm in the villages of Pangasinán and Ilocos alone, by setting fire to them, or by means of very safe ambushes. They have but little adherence to their false religions, but are very superstitious and practice divination. In that respect they greatly resemble the Payaos and Calanasas¹²² above mentioned. They are opposed in all their customs to the Abacaes¹²³ and Italones¹²⁴ of the mountains of Santor in Pampanga. They practice bigamy [*sic*] for they marry many women; and they regard theft as great cleverness. Their usual weapons are arrows, and some chiefs carry lances and *balaraos* [*i.e.*, daggers] which they buy in other villages with their gold. Father Fray Esteban Marin,¹²⁵ a religious of Ours, suffered

¹²² Probably one of the small collections of natives in North Luzón.

¹²³ Not mentioned by *Census of Philippine Islands*. Blumentritt (*Tribes of Phil.*) says that they were originally a heathen Malay tribe living in the dense forests of Carabello Sur in Luzón, who were warlike and probably headhunters. They were christianized in the eighteenth century, and although they have a distinct language (Sawyer says it has died out) they have become thoroughly Tagalized.

¹²⁴ Blumentritt (*ut supra*) reports this tribe as a headhunting Malay people inhabiting the mountain wilds of Nueva Vizcaya in Luzón. They are heathen, only a small portion having embraced Christianity. Sawyer (*Inhabitants of Philippines*, p. 268) says that they resemble the Igorots in their customs and religion.

¹²⁵ Estéban Marín was a native of the City of Mexico, where he professed. He went to the Philippines in 1584, and was sent to the Igorots and Zambals, where he established the villages of Bolinao and Masinloc and ministered in those of Batác, Laoag,

martyrdom among that race in the year 1601, as is mentioned in the first part, book 3, chapter 22, folio 502.¹⁸⁶

Having made the preparations for that conquest, the governor appointed Admiral Pedro Durán de Monforte, a brave and experienced soldier (of whom repeated mention has been made in this history) the chief commander of it. He gave him the title of lieutenant captain-general, and a sufficient number of soldiers, both Spanish and Pampango. The *sargentos-mayor* Blas Rodríguez and Don José de Robles Cortés accompanied him, as did also Captains Gabriel de la Jara, Francisco de Espinosa, Don Pablo de la Piedra, and Lorenzo Rubio, and Adjutants Pedro Bravo, Juan de Mercado, and Francisco de la Jara – all leaders and veteran soldiers. He asked our father provincial, Fray Alonso Quijano, to appoint evangelical ministers to go to the preaching and teaching of the villages which would be conquered. The provincial appointed father Fray Lorenzo de Herrera¹⁸⁷ (former prior of Narbacán in

Tagudin, and Bantay. He was killed by the Igorots in November, 1601, having been sent thither with the punitive expedition (under command of Matheo de Aranda) by Governor Francisco Tello, while endeavoring to pacify the insurgents by peaceful measures. He left a manuscript grammar and dictionary of the Igorot language, a grammar of the Zambal and Spanish, and several sermons in Zambal. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 32.

¹⁸⁶ Referring to the *Conquistas de las Islas Philipinas* (Madrid, 1698) of Gaspar de San Agustín – of which history Díaz's is a continuation.

¹⁸⁷ Lorenzo Herrera was a native of Mexico, and professed in Manila, October 15, 1643. He worked in the villages of Agoó (1656), Bocarra (1657, 1668), Purao (1659), and Narvacán (1665). He performed many notable deeds on the expedition outlined in the text. Death met him in 1671. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, pp. 198, 199.

Ilocos), father Fray Luís de la Fuente,¹⁸⁸ and Fray Gabriel Alvarez,¹⁸⁹ for that mission. The governor also appointed the commander Don Felipe de Ugalde as purveyor and paymaster for those troops, giving him four thousand pesos for that purpose. Don Felipe, however, did not accompany the army, but went later; and his self-confidence was the cause of his death. For at the point of the uninhabited district the Zambals went out against him; and, although he defended himself with great valor, a valiant Zambal named Tumalang killed him. That man became a Christian after the event of Pignauén, and was named Don Alonso. He cut off the purveyor's head, as we have mentioned in another chapter, [treating] of the year 1656.

Pedro Durán marched with his men by short stages, because of the inconvenience to the infantry and baggage, and for fear of the ambushes which could be set against him in the many defiles that offered along the road. He always had spies who knew the roads, and Pampanga scouts, and friendly Zambals together with Sargento-mayor Blas Rodríguez and the adjutant Francisco de la Jara, and some Spaniards. Without the occurrence of any-

¹⁸⁸ Luis de la Fuente was a Mexican, and professed in the Manila convent, January 25, 1655. He ministered in the Ilocan villages of Agoó (1659), Purao (1662), Sinait (1663, 1677), Dingras (1666), Bocarra (1669), and Candón (1675). He was captured in the uprising of the Pangasináns and Zambals in 1660, but was freed. His death occurred in 1680. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 201.

¹⁸⁹ Gabriel Alvarez was born in Manila, and professed there September 27, 1663. He was minister in the village of Sinait in 1665, when ordered to accompany the expedition under Pedro Durán de Monforte, returning thither in 1669 and dying in 1671. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 204.

thing worthy of consideration, they arrived at the first two villages of the Igolotes – called Cayang,¹⁴⁰ of one hundred and fifty houses; and Lobing, of a few less. They found these deserted, but they remained there to await the rest of the convoy. The site of Cayang was very pleasant, and suitable for a military post, as it was the nearest to the villages that had been subdued. Consequently, Pedro Durán determined to build a fort for his defense until, by means of the Zambals and Ilocans, the Igolotes should become quieted and reduced to their houses. He treated the natives well, and the soldiers who might transgress by offering them the least injury he punished. Gradually many of the chief Igolotes came, and showed themselves to be obedient, and friends of the Spaniards, and well inclined to profess the evangelical law and be baptized. A church was built of such materials as could be found in those mountains, because of the difficulty of finding bamboo near there. The same and greater difficulty was experienced in building a fort of palisades and a terreplein; for all that land was bare, and had no forests of timber. Therefore it cost the soldiers considerable labor to find timber and bring it from afar, as they did, without any disaster having happened to them.

That exploration was made near the end of 1668, the time when the Spaniards were in those parts. Of their doings in detail, only very short and confused accounts have remained. It is only reported that they explored one hundred and fifty villages, from

¹⁴⁰ Since 1880 permanent missions of the Augustinians have been established in Cayang and other neighboring tribes. – TIRSO LOPEZ, O.S.A.

the heights of Cayang to the mountains of Cagayán. Most of them are located on the shores of large rivers, all of which flow into the great river of Cagayán, which empties [into the sea] at Lalo. It is the largest river that is known in all the Filipinas Islands; and is said to be larger than the Danubio [*i.e.*, the Danube.]

The Spaniards did not neglect to look for gold-mines, for the working of which they took along miners and plenty of tools. But although they found mines in the latitude of 17 degrees, from which the Igolotes extract very fine gold, our miners could not obtain any in all the assays that they made; for all went up in smoke. That was one of the reasons that made that conquest drag on, as it was very costly and very remote. The names of the villages which rendered obedience were the following: Cayang, Lobing, Masla, Sumader, Anquiling, Balugan, Maguimey, Tadián, Balococ, Caagitan, Otocan, Bila, Cagubatan, Guindajan, Banaao, Pingar, Pandayan, Naligua, Singa, Banao, Payao, Agava, Lobo, Madaguem, Balicoey, Bilogan, Balicnon, Biacan, Pangpanavil, Gambang, Mogo, Leodan, Dugungan, Sayot, Calilimban, Sanap, Sabangan, Alap, and a valley called Loo, with nine villages. But those which paid something as recognition were Peglisan, Tanon, Maynit, Guinaan, Amtadao, Malibuen, Bucog, Balignono, Balián, Malibcon, Dingle, Datalan, Agava, Malibuen, Talabao, and others – whose names I omit, as they are of little importance, and which exceed one hundred in number.

The governor, in order that that conquest might be made more easily, ordered that the fort of Pignauén be established in Zambales, with a sufficient

garrison of soldiers and some small pieces of artillery. As its commandant he appointed Sargento-mayor Blas Rodríguez. Afterward, in the term of Governor Don Juan de Bargas jurisdiction was given to the commandant who then was Captain Alonso Martín Franco; he is still living to govern the villages of Zambales, Nuevo Toledo, and others, in which he places justices and governors. That fort is the check that restrains the raids of the Zambals of Playa Honda, a cruel and barbarous race, who consider their highest good the cutting off of heads, which is their great badge of nobility.

The fruit obtained by fathers Fray Lorenzo de Herrera, Fray Luís de la Fuente, and Fray Gabriel Alvarez in that conquest was considerable, for they reduced entire villages to the knowledge of our holy faith; in the beginning, they succeeded in inducing many children and old people who were about to die to have the good fortune to die as Christians. But they bore themselves with great caution and prudence, for they feared that it would be very difficult to preserve that field of Christendom unless those people were reduced, and removed to a more suitable site, secure from the continual wars which some villages waged against others. Thus many were led to settle in the villages of Ilocos, and others in those of Zambales. But what most hindered that so important reduction was the frustration of the hopes for the rich gold mines which so incited greed; for all those who went on that expedition were boasting that they were already Cræsuses and Midases. It is certain that there are very wealthy mines and placers in the rivers, whence the Igolotes get the great quantities of gold which they have brought

down to sell to the provinces of Ilocos and Pangasinán; but it appears that divine wisdom does not choose that they shall fall into our hands, for it was very certain that we would make an ill use of that benefit. . . .

[Great sorrow is caused to the province by the death of Fray Diego de Ordáz, August 12, 1666. He was a native of the city of León, and had come to the islands in 1635. He became a missionary in the Bisayas, and was twice prior of Manila, and twice provincial. Most of his life in the islands was passed in the convent at Manila. In 1666 are celebrated the funeral ceremonies for Felipe IV, who died September 17, 1665.]

Governor Don Diego de Salcedo, considering the many oppressions that were experienced by the provinces near Manila from the continual cutting of timber and building of galleons – a necessary evil, and one in which the wrongs that are committed in it can be obviated only with great difficulty – very prudently determined to build the galleon “Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro” in the province of Albay. He entrusted its execution to the commander Diego de Arévalo who was most experienced in maritime matters. He appointed him alcalde-mayor of the adjoining province of Camarines, for the better expedition of the timber-cutting, putting him under greater obligations [to do well] by the future reward of commander of the galleon which he was about to build. In order that that galleon might be built more quickly and finished sooner, he sent as chief overseer his lieutenant master-of-camp, Don Agustín de Cepada Carnacedo, who was then master-of-camp of the army of these islands for his Majesty, in order

that he might live in the port of Albay. He did that with so great care that in little more than one year the largest and best galleon that had yet been seen in the islands was built – and very few so large have been seen in European seas, and extremely few that are larger. For that purpose the woods of Filipinas are the best that can be found in all the universe; because for the inside work, the ribs and knees, the keel and rudder molave is used – which is the hardest wood known; and at its disintegration it is converted into stone by being kept in the water. Lavang¹⁴¹ is used for the sheathing outside the ribs; it is so strong and of such a nature that no artillery ball will pass through it; and the greatest harm that the ball can do is to stick in the wood without entering inside the ship. On account of that advantage the galleons of these islands are so formidable to the Dutch; for each one is a strong castle in the sea. When the galleon “Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro” was finished, it sailed from Albay, August 28, 1667, under command of Diego de Arévalo, with Juan Rodríguez, a Portuguese, as its chief pilot. The patache “San Diego” left Cavite to accompany it, under charge of Admiral Bartolomé Muñoz. They had a fortunate voyage, and arrived in due time at the port of Acapulco.

The ship “Concepción,” which had sailed from these islands in the previous year of 1666, in charge of Commander Don Juan de Zalaeta – who remained in Nueva Espana, where he took the habit of Santiago, and was alcalde-mayor of the city of La Puebla de los Angeles, and castellan of Acapulco

¹⁴¹ Lauan (*Anisoptera thurifera*: Blume) of the family of *Dipterocarpaceae*, used for shipbuilding and house construction.

— also arrived in safety at these islands. (Afterward Don Juan returned to these islands, in the year 1684, as judge of the residencia of Governor Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado. That residencia was very tedious and occasioned that judge great troubles.) On that voyage he had taken with him the famous and valiant commander Francisco de Estéybar who also remained in Méjico, where he lived blind for many years. . . . On its return trip that galleon carried Doctor Don Diego de Corbera, his Majesty's fiscal, and Doña María Jiménez, his wife. A mission of the discalced religious of our father St. Augustine also came. The galleon was in great danger, for some of the criminals who were being sent in it for the galleys and presidios of these islands tried to mutiny; but this was checked in time, and the guilty were punished.

Those and other like troubles have occurred in Filipinas because so many criminals and persons who have committed various crimes have been sent from Méjico, and form in these islands the sink [of the iniquity] that prevails here. For those who sometimes merited the punishment of the gallows are confined here, under pretext that they are sent to serve in the galleys, of which we generally have none. And since the need of men is so great, because of the lack of Spaniards, the authorities are compelled to enlist them as soldiers; and from that they continue to advance to the highest military rank, for they are the ones to whom Fortune is more favorable than to others who are more worthy of taking precedence of them. . . . It is true that there is some relief from that abuse at present. For, on petition of the governors of these islands, the viceroys

of Nueva España now send those condemned for such crimes to the conquest of Pensacola [*i.e.*, Florida], which was discovered in the time of the Conde de Galber [*i.e.*, Galves].

That year the galleon "Buen Socorro" sailed from Albay after it was completed, under its commander Diego de Arévalo and its chief pilot Juan Rodríguez. It sailed August 28, and was in great danger for it ran aground as it left the harbor; but it was gotten off easily by the great energy and skill of the commander. The galleon was the best that was ever built thus far in these islands; and its size, beauty, and swiftness were amazing. It had two tanks of water, so large that one of them was more than enough for the entire voyage to Acapulco, and the other served for the return, and a quantity of water was left – a great convenience for the sea, when one suffers so great lack of water. From this it is inferred that the water of Filipinas does not become foul, either going or coming, as the English say of the water of the river Támesis of Londrés [*i.e.*, Thames, of London]. The patache "San Diego" left the port of Cavite, under command of Admiral Bartholomé Muñoz, to go in its convoy – the fortunate Argo that was to conduct those chosen heroes, the apostles for the Marianas Islands, the associates of the venerable father Diego Luís de San Vitores.

[The following chapter contains the biography of the Augustinian father Fray Luís López de Amezquita, who died June 26, 1667.]

CHAPTER XXXII

Election of our father provincial Fray Dionisio Suárez; of the mission that arrived that year; and the imprisonment of the governor.

(1668-69)

The time assigned by our sacred rules for the election of a new provincial came. The fathers who had votes, having assembled in the Manila convent, held their chapter on April 21, 1668, under the presidency of father Fray Tomás de Villanueva, as he was the senior definitor of the preceding chapter. He was assisted by the rector provincial, our father Fray Alonso Coronel. Our father Fray Dionisio Suárez, a celebrated minister of the provinces of Tagalos, son of the convent of Salamanca, who came to these islands in 1627, was elected provincial, to the general satisfaction of all. As definitors were elected fathers Fray Juan de Vergara, Fray Francisco de Medina Basco, Fray Andrés de Salazar,¹⁴² and Fray Pedro de Mesa.¹⁴³ The visitors, Fray José de Mendoza, and Fray José Duque, were present — in whose

¹⁴² Andrés Salazar ministered in Gapán (1647), Arayat (1648), Pórac (1650), Minalin (1653), Apálit (1656), Betis (1657), Candaba (1662), Macabebe (1665), Bacolór (1668), and Hagonoy (1674). He was elected definitor in 1668. During the insurrection of 1660 in Pampanga, he aided in the pacification of the insurgents. He died in the Manila convent in 1674. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, pp. 121, 122.

¹⁴³ Pedro de Mesa was born in Valverde in the province of Burgos and took the habit in Valladolid in 1635. He labored in Carcar (1651, 1659), Guimbál (1654), Tigbauan (1656), Jaro (1663), Panay (1665-71), Dumarao (1664), Lipa (1669), and Malate (1680, 1689). He was subprior of the convent of Manila in 1662, prior of the same convent (1668), visitor and vicar-provincial, and twice definitor (1668, 1678); and died in the Manila convent, in 1692. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 118.

place were elected fathers Fray Cristóbal Marroquí, and Fray Carlos Bautista.

They enacted ordinances and statutes of great utility for the better administration of the missions in our charge, and for the better government of the province, which, as they were so good and proved so useful, have been reënacted in many subsequent chapters. At that time this province was in great need of religious to serve in the ministry of the missions. Consequently, it was necessary to pile work upon them till they were overburdened (that addition being the most grievous part of the load); and therefore many fathers were entrusted with two districts, and only one was placed in other large districts that needed two or three. The other orders were suffering from the same diminution, and the secular clergy was almost a cipher. Consequently, there was no recourse but to abandon some missions, so that those which remained in our charge might be better administered. But divine Providence hastened to our relief in that great affliction with an abundant reënforcement, the greatest that this province had obtained since its origin.

In the middle of July 1668, the galleon "Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro," in charge of the commander Don Diego de Arévalo, sighted the first land of Filipinas, namely, the cape of Espiritu-Santo. That vessel carried seventeen religious who were sent from España by the father procurator of this province, Fray Isidro Rodríguez as part of [a band of] fifty priests and choristers, and in addition three lay-brothers of the mission, whom he had obtained from the queen-mother, who was acting as ruler. They were not all able to embark, partly because the

fleet which was to sail to Nueva España had been broken up, and partly because the religious could not be accommodated in two ships of the windward fleet – which was in charge of Don Agustín de Yustigue, knight of the Habit of Santiago, its commander – which were to carry back quicksilver for the mines. For Don Diego Espejo with his family was crossing [the ocean], with the appointment of corregidor from Méjico; and he presented a royal decree ordering that one-half of the poop, in which some of the religious had to come, be given to him. For that reason only twenty-two could embark in the flagship, where they suffered great discomfort. Two of them died in Nueva España and some remained there sick, so that only seventeen sailed in that ship “Buen Socorro.” In the following year of 1669, father Fray Isidro sailed with the rest. The patache “San Diego” took Father Diego Luís de San Vitores and his associates to the islands of Marianas to begin that spiritual conquest. He was an apostolic man, and even to look at and talk to him infused an inner joy and consolation – as I confess happened to me in Acapulco, where I had the good fortune to know and talk to him. Two Dominican religious [also came], namely, father Fray Antonio Calderón, who came as chaplain, and father Fray Arcadio del Rosario; besides father Fray Antonio Godínez of St. Francis, who came as his associate and secretary,¹⁴⁴ to visit this province of San Gregorio.

¹⁴⁴ So in the printed text; but there is apparently a hiatus, a name being omitted – that of the visitor’s companion. Cf. the account here given by Diaz of the shipwreck suffered by Godínez, in which his secretary was drowned. Huerta does not mention Antonio Godínez. According to *Reseña biográfica*, the Dominican Calderon first came to the islands in 1658.

I cannot refrain from mentioning what happened to that galleon when it was at Capul, an island of the Embocadero of San Bernardino; namely, that when the nineteenth of July dawned the galleon was joined by a craft of peculiar shape – somewhat like those used by the Indians of the Marianas Islands, painted with the same color of vermillion earth, but larger than four of their boats. It held six persons, whose entire bodies were painted ¹⁴⁶ black. But they were so weak that they seemed to be living skeletons, except one of middle age who was fat and robust, tattooed, and with a long beard. They ascended into the galleon without showing fear or distrust; but no one understood their language, although we had a sailor who knew the language of Marianas well, as he had been shipwrecked in the galleon “Concepción” in the year 1636, and had lived for some time in those islands. It could only be conjectured from the signs that they made that they had come from the south. They remained in the galleon, where they were relieved in their necessity, which was lack of nourishment. They ate nothing that had touched the fire; but rice and fish, all raw. All of them died except the boys, of whom the commander and pilot took charge. After some years, when they knew our language, they said that they came from an island near Nueva Guinea – without doubt the Garbanzos, Columnas, Jardines, or others which the maps show; or the islands of the Palaos, in the discovery of which Father Andrés Serrano of the Society of Jesus toiled so much, until he lost his life by drowning, with other religious and many Spaniards, in the

¹⁴⁶ Spanish *pintados*; it may mean “tattooed.”

year 1711, after having gone to Roma, Madrid, and Paris, to negotiate the affairs of that discovery and the conversion of those souls. But he will have already received the reward for his holy zeal and great labors.

The religious of the mission disembarked at Capul July 20, and the flagship "Buen Socorro," after weathering many storms, made the harbor of Lam-pón. The religious reached Manila in groups all through the month of August, after making their voyage by land, and receiving the greatest attentions from the religious of the Order of St. Francis – in whose vigilant care are the provinces of Camarines, Tayabas, and Laguna de Bay; and they showed the fervent charity which was left them as an inheritance by their seraphic patriarch.

That mission was a great relief, although it was small; for most of the choristers were very soon ordained, dispensation for their age being granted through the *omnimodo* authority conceded by his Holiness Adrian VI to the prelates of the mendicant orders of Indias in his famous bull given at Zaragoza in 1522, the first year of his pontificate. That privilege has been very useful for the conversion and instruction of the natives of the Indias; and it is still in force, as it was conceded to the emperor Carlos V, although foreign authors have tried to destroy it by saying that it was revoked – authors such as Angelo María Berrecili, Fagnano,¹⁴⁶ and others.

The death of our father Fray Alonso Coronel was regretted deeply in this province (he died in Manila,

¹⁴⁶ Perhaps the celebrated Prospero Fagnani, a canonist of the seventeenth century who was regarded at Rome as an oracle on all legal questions. He was secretary to several popes for about

August 9 of that year 1668), for he was one of the prudent superiors that this province has had, and a very learned and able religious. He was an efficient minister in Tagalos for the period of thirty-three years that he spent in these islands.

Father Fray Manuel Quintero,¹⁴⁷ accompanied by the father visitor Fray Antonio Godínez, his two associates, and father Fray Arcadio, embarked in a caracoa to cross the Embocadero of San Bernardino, to land in Bulusan. In crossing there one must leave affairs to the disposition of the Indians of the country, pilots who know the time when one must cross – namely, when the tide ceases to rise, and has stopped – for then one can pass without the slightest difficulty. But if one chooses another time, no ship of high freeboard, [even] with all its sails and with a favorable wind, can resist the current, which is so strong that it will cause the ship to spin round and round. Those fathers being newly come, were unwilling to leave themselves to the management of Indians, or to await the point of the tide, but obliged the Indians to cross. In the midst of the passage the boat overturned; and a Spaniard, the nephew of father Fray Manuel, named Don Gregorio Quintero, and two other Spaniards were drowned. Father Fray Manuel and the secretary of the father visitor, a Vizcayan, who were fine swimmers, reached land with great difficulty. The father visitor, his associate, and father Fray Arcadio did not abandon the craft, and

fifteen years. Blindness seized him at the age of forty-four, but he composed his *Commentaria super quinque libros Decretalium* (Rome, 1661) after that time. He died in 1678. See Rose's *New General Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1848).

¹⁴⁷ Manuel Quintero went to Manila in 1669, where he was appointed conventual of Guadalupe. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 185.

accordingly were saved by the Indian rowers; but they reached land after being sadly buffeted about. The father visitor lost his letters-patent and papers, and consequently did not make his visit. He returned to Nueva España after having passed many seas and suffered many troubles, and after having been obliged to put back to port in the year 1669. He was later provincial of the province of San Diego. The currents of that Embocadero are so terrible that the roar of the tide when it is low can be heard for many leguas.¹⁴⁸ The reckoning of its flow and ebb is so variable that great mathematicians who have given themselves to that speculation have not been able to understand it. . . .

Shortly after their arrival at the Manila convent, in the month of October, the Lord was pleased to take to himself His devoted servant father Fray Jerónimo de Ramos, 84 years of age, a native of Castilla la Vieja, and son of the convent of Burgos, who came to this province in the year 1627.¹⁴⁹ He was a Tagalog minister, and was indefatigable in instructing his parishioners. He was much given to mortifi-

¹⁴⁸ Numerous currents are set up, through the passage among the islands, by the great equatorial current which crosses the Pacific from east to west, dividing east of the Philippines. Surface drifts are also set in motion by the southwest wind in summer and fall, which make the currents in various directions among the islands at certain times of the year. These small currents have much influence on the climate, those in the San Bernardino Strait affecting the peninsula of Sorsogón and the north coast of Sámar. Tides in the Philippines are exceedingly irregular, varying greatly in different places, owing to the directions in which tidal waves move, and differing also greatly at different times of the month. See *Census of Philippine Islands* (Washington, 1905), pp. 56, 90, 91.

¹⁴⁹ Jerónimo Ramos had labored in the missions of Taguig (1650), Malolos (1653), and Bauan in Batangas (1654-62). In 1662 he retired to the Manila convent, where he died in 1668. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 109.

cation and prayer, so that most of his time was passed in that holy exercise in the choir. For many years he had lived retired in the Manila convent, without leaving the house; and he was the example and wonder of that community. He suffered very patiently from a very troublesome illness for the space of twenty years. No word was heard from him except those of great edification and full of love of God, and hence his death was like his holy life.

During all of Don Diego Salcedo's term of office, which lasted for five years, there was little satisfaction for the community of Manila, for the commerce of China which is the most necessary thing was very slight, because of the wars which Sipuán, the son of Kuesing, waged with the Tartars; and consequently the champan that came from China was very rare indeed. The inhabitants of Manila were very greatly dissatisfied with his government, for they thought that he was hindering their interests by preferring his own – the ordinary complaint against the governors. Since the merchandise was but little in that time, all could not be satisfied – a matter almost impossible for those who govern, and especially in these islands, where he who has the supreme command is regarded as guilty of all the disasters. Added to this, he had had disputes with the municipal corporation of the city; for he tried to give his captain of the guard, Don Juan de Ezquerria, a public seat with the cabildo, and he had arrested the alcalde-in-ordinary, General Don Sebastián Rayo Doria, over that matter. But what the citizens regretted most keenly was the loss of their wealth – for the governor bought at wholesale most of the merchandise, by the hand of his factor Gaspar

Ruiz de Aguayo – and the repeated voyages which Juan de Ezquerra made to Batavia at his account, in which they had no part or profit. It is certain that a fine intelligence was wasted in that gentleman; but his mind swelling with pride on account of his great authority made the citizens despise him, and from that he finally became hated.¹⁵⁰ Consequently he had a fatal end, namely, arrest by the Holy Office of the Inquisition through the father commissary, Fray José de Paternina.¹⁵¹ And inasmuch as I am in duty bound to mention that imprisonment, I shall only relate what belongs to the matter, as my obligation includes nothing else.

At eleven o'clock at night on October nine, the

¹⁵⁰ The previously-cited document in Ventura del Arco MSS. ascribes (pp. 502-512) Salcedo's unpopularity to his being unable to satisfy the extravagant expectations of persons who demanded from him offices and opportunities for gain; dislike of him by the priests and friars; the resentment of traders with whom his proceedings interfered; jealousy of his Flemish dependents; his severe enforcement of certain decrees; the plots and schemes of Bonifaz and others; and his own arrogance, and self-will.

¹⁵¹ Salcedo's enemies concocted the scheme of imprisoning him, "on the pretext of his arrest being made by the Inquisition, and on a complaint [of his acting] contrary to the Christian faith," as this would silence all opposition or any attempt to rescue him. They gained over the master-of-camp, Zepeda, who on the appointed night stationed his nephew's company on guard at the palace, to which he himself repaired – allowing the conspirators to reach the governor's room unhindered. Through the friars who were concerned in the plot, they summoned many of the leading citizens – under penalty of excommunication for any one who should reveal the matter, or fail to be present that night at the Augustinian convent at a set (and unusual) hour – to assist the commissary of the Inquisition in the arrest of a prominent but unnamed personage on charges concerning the holy faith. In order to give further coloring of reason for this arrest, they consulted beforehand the auditors Bonifaz and Mansilla, and the Audiencia fiscal, Doctor Francisco Corbera y Mejia – "not as officials of the Audiencia, but as lawyers" – all of whom were enemies of the governor. (Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, pp. 528-531.)

father commissary of the Holy Office of the Inquisition went to the governor's palace, accompanied by brother Fray Juan de Panos.¹⁵² In their company they took Captain Francisco de Vizcarra, alguacil-mayor of the Holy Office; the commander Sebastián Rayo Doria and Captain Don Nicolás Muñoz de Pamplona, alcaldes-in-ordinary of the city of Manila; Sargento-mayor Don Juan de Morales, and Captain Juan Tirado; Captain Don Luís de Morales Camacho, Captain Don Tomás de Castro y Andrade, and Captain Don Gonzalo Samaniego. Besides these, entered Captain Miguel de Cárdenas, and Captain Diego de Palencia; Alférez Antonio de Monroy, familiar of the Holy Office; the reverend father Fray Francisco Solier, provincial of the Order of St. Francis; and fathers Fray Mateo Bayón¹⁵³ and Fray Francisco de Pamplona of the same order, of the Friars Minor. The master-of-camp, Don Agustín de Cepeda Carnacedo, who had purposely placed on guard in the palace his nephew, Don Miguel de Alegría, with his company, was there beforehand waiting for them. They all went up to

¹⁵² The lay-brother Juan Panés was born in Rota in the province of Cadiz, and took the habit in Manila, May 3, 1652, being appointed procurator in the Manila convent. He died August 6, 1695, from mental disorder. See Pérez's *Catálogo*, p. 200.

¹⁵³ This man is thus characterized in Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, p. 512: "In the same ship sailed [to Manila, 1666] also father Fray Mateo Vallo [elsewhere Ballon], commissary of the band of religious of St. Francis that it bore. He belonged to a foreign nation, and had a turbulent disposition. After having roamed about the world while he was a layman, he came to these islands as a trader, where, during the government of Don Diego Fajardo, this man was sentenced to the gallows. Having accidentally escaped that punishment, he took refuge with the Order of St. Francis, where he assumed their habit; and in course of time his order sent him to España, to bring over the said religious."

the sleeping-apartment of the governor, while the master-of-camp remained in the guardroom and gave orders to the soldiers not to stir even if they heard some noise above.

The father commissary, the *alcaldes*, the religious, and some of the company went upstairs, while the others remained below with the master-of-camp; and the former reached the sleeping-apartments of Don Diego de Salcedo. They summoned a servant maid to open the door, telling her that the factor Juan de Verastein, who was bringing the silver from the ship "Buen Socorro" which was at Lampón, had arrived; and the maid opened the door without mistrusting danger.¹⁵⁴ All of them entered the apartment and, reaching the governor's bed, awakened him. At the same time they cut the fastenings of the bed-canopy, which, falling down upon the governor in his half-awake condition, left him enveloped in it, and unable to make the slightest movement of defense. They had planned to do this, in order that the governor might not be able to make use of a rack well supplied with firearms, which he kept loaded and ready at his bedside. At that juncture the commissary arrived, and told the governor that he must surrender to the Holy Office of the Inquisition, to which the governor in his confusion had no other answer to make than "Yes," and saying that he yielded himself a prisoner. A pair of manacles that they had prepared were placed on him. As they were riveted home Don Diego de Salcedo said "Do not

¹⁵⁴ Montero y Vidal says (*Hist. de Filipinas*, i, p. 335): "Father Patermina [*sic*] threatened with the terrors of the Holy Office an old woman who looked after the governor's comfort, commanding her to open the door of his chamber at a signal agreed upon."

hurt me;" to which one of the bystanders answered "Your Lordship has hurt us more." That appeared very wrong to the others, and they checked the lack of respect which that person showed. That man, it is said, was the commander and *alcalde-in-ordinary* Sebastián Rayo Doria.¹⁸⁵

A hammock was brought, and, half dressed as he was, the governor was placed inside it. Descending by a private stairway, and taking him through a rear door quite remote from the guardroom, they took him to the convent of St. Francis,¹⁸⁶ where he stayed one day. Next day he was taken to the house of Captain Diego de Palencia, where he was kept for some days until he was removed to the convent of our father St. Augustine. There he was imprisoned in a high, large, and comfortable room, which was used by the religious for the view and for recreation. He remained there until he was embarked on the *patache* "San Diego;" and while there his custodian, steward, and servant was Captain Miguel de Cárdenas, who looked after his comfort with great care. That captain embarked with him and tended him until his death, which occurred in the year 1670, in the second voyage that he made; for the *patache* "San Diego" had put back to this port, under charge of Admiral Don Francisco de Vizcarra, *alguacil-mayor* of the Holy Office. After the eve of the Nativity, the

¹⁸⁵ Cf. the account of Salcedo's arrest given *ante*, pp. 23-29.

¹⁸⁶ Salcedo was taken to the Franciscan convent, and immediately the conspirators celebrated the event with suppers and the drinking of toasts through the night, according to previous arrangements made by them. "In this manner did the fathers of St. Francis return his pious act, and the alms of 5,000 pesos which he had just given them for the building of their church." Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, p. 532.)

father commissary, who was appointed prior of the convent – as the father-definitior, Fray Pedro de Mesa, who had been prior, had resigned – ordered that Don Diego be fastened to a chain. The reason for chaining him was, that many signs showed that his servants and adherents were trying to rescue him on the night of the Nativity. It was even reported, but not believed, that poison was first to be given to the prior and the commissary and to the religious of the convent, by means of a splendid collation which was to be sent them.

Don Diego de Salcedo sustained that so grievous blow with so great steadfastness that he caused admiration in all people; for he was never heard to assign another reason for his imprisonment than that it was a present which God was sending him for his many sins. For it is considered certain that if he had cried out, when he was arrested, to the halberdiers of his guard, and if they had called upon the soldiers of the guardroom, a great disturbance would have happened, however much the master-of-camp tried to restrain them. I am witness of that, for I went often by order of the father commissary and prior to amuse him when he was sick. I admired his great courage and prudence, as well as his strong mind; and it seemed as if he had no resentment that could give him anxiety. One may believe that so great conformity to His most holy will was gained by the aid of God. That which I always heard to be a fact must have been true, namely, that that gentleman had great love and special veneration for the most venerable father Diego de San Vítores,¹⁵⁷ of

¹⁵⁷ Diego Luis de San Vitores, S. J., was born at Burgos, November 12, 1627, and entered the Society July 25, 1647. After

the holy Society of Jesus, whom the governor aided considerably by coöperation [with him] in his entrance into the Marianas Islands. It is said that he requested the said venerable father to ask God to give him in this world his purgatory for his sins. The venerable father replied that he should think well what he was asking, for the Lord's aid is necessary when He bears down His hand, in order that one may not refuse to endure His paternal correction. The father told him that time after time, but Don Diego de Salcedo always persevered in asking the same thing. The venerable father must have obtained that heroic petition from God; for when he bade farewell to him on going to the mission of the Marianas Islands, it appears that he gave Don Diego de Salcedo to understand that the Lord had granted his petition. Therefore, that very submissive spirit and the prayers of the venerable father Diego Luís de San Vitores, one can believe, were the cause of his great patience and resignation.

Such was the imprisonment of Governor Don Diego de Salcedo, and the evil lot of that gentleman who possessed so great endowments of valor, discretion, and urbanity, besides his personal qualities; for he was tall and well-proportioned in all parts of his body, and his face was handsome, serious, and modest. His flowing hair was very long and white; and his mustache, a distinction in the men of having taught philosophy at Alcalá de Henares, he sailed for Mexico, May 14, 1660, and in 1662 went to the Philippines. He became the greatest missionary to the Mariana or Ladrone Islands. He was killed April 2, 1672, at Guam. He left a number of writings. His life was written by Francisco García and published at Madrid in 1683. See Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque*; and Murillo Velarde's *Historia*, fol. 314-331 verso. The evangelization of the Marianas will be treated separately in this series if space permit.

that time, was very black. His complexion was very light, and his eyes blue, and all gave him a grave and noble appearance. Nothing could be seen in him that was not very chaste, and only in his covetousness was any transgression recognized in him. As covetousness is the root of all evils, his lukewarmness in attending to many obligations belonging to a Christian governor proceeded from that. The consequences of his imprisonment lasted for twenty years, counting imprisonments, embargoes, exiles, and refuge sought in the sanctuary by those who took part in that imprisonment. The father commissary, Fray José de Paternina, was summoned to Méjico by the Inquisitors; and the reverend father master Fray Felipe Pardo, of the Order of Preachers, afterward archbishop of Manila, was appointed in his place. Father Fray José de Paternina died on the voyage to Acapulco, and we only know that the tribunal of the Holy Inquisition of Méjico celebrated public and honorary funeral services for him. The rest of the matter does not concern me; it was my part only to refer to the fact of this imprisonment, in order to follow the thread of my history.

The *alcaldes-in-ordinary* and the municipal corporation of the *cabildo* informed the gentlemen of the royal Audiencia [of the arrest] that same night, in order that they might fulfil their obligation, which was to appoint the senior auditor to the government. The auditors – *Licentiates* Don Francisco de Coloma y Maceda, Don Francisco de Monsilla y Montemayor, and Don Juan Manuel de la Peña Bonifaz – and Doctor Don Diego de Corbera, the *fiscal*, met in the assembly hall. They discussed the question of who was the senior auditor; for Don Francisco

de Coloma had held that office longer, but had assumed the office later, because Don Francisco Mansilla (as we have mentioned before) had gone on ahead from Cagayán. The controversy waxed very bitter, for neither would yield; and the third auditor, Don Juan Manuel, and the fiscal sided with neither of the contestants. Finally Don Juan Manuel treated the matter so ably and wisely that he made them agree to give him charge of the government until the controversy should be decided. The two other auditors and the fiscal assenting thereto, the charge of military affairs was given to Don Juan Manuel de la Peña Bonifaz; and the master-of-camp took possession of the army, and the city received his oath.

On the same day, Don Juan Manuel arranged the camp to suit his own pleasure. He appointed Don Juan de Morales Valenzuela sargento-mayor, after removing Don Nicolás Sarmiento; he made his own son, Don Juan Manuel, captain of his guard, and changed many of the infantry captains. It seems that the two auditors Coloma and Mansilla feared some violence; and for greater harmony retired, together with the fiscal Don Diego de Corbera and the secretary of the chamber, Tomás de Palenzuela Zurbarán to the college of the Society of Jesus, and convened the Audiencia in the library of the said college. They despatched a number of royal decrees ordering Don Juan Manuel to govern and rule as they two determined, since it was they who owned that right, which was still in litigation. But it appears that Don Juan Manuel had no such intention, and so much was he able to do by his sagacity and the interposition of grave persons (in which intervened

Fathers Javier Riquelme,¹⁵⁸ the rector, Miguel Solana, and Pedro de Espinar¹⁵⁹ of the Society of Jesus) – and of lawyers, such as Manuel Suárez de Olivera, Don Eugenio Gutiérrez de Mendoza, and Don Juan de Rosales, that after many controversies, which have no place here, the two auditors and the fiscal were confined to their homes. When one would have thought them safest, Don Juan Manuel arrested them all in their own houses. He sent Don Francisco de Coloma to the village of Bay with an order to the alcalde-mayor Don Antonio Quijano to watch over his person; and Doctor Don Diego de Corbera, the fiscal, and his wife Doña María Jiménez to the island of Luban, fourteen leguas from Manila – where he died in a few months, I know not whether of sorrow or illness. He ordered Don Francisco Mansilla¹⁶⁰ to

¹⁵⁸ Xavier de Riquelme was born in Murcia in 1619, and became a Jesuit novice at the age of fifteen. He came to the Philippines in 1643, and taught in the Jesuit college some ten years. He was rector at Zamboanga three years, and held various official positions in his order, among them that of provincial. He died at Manila, May 24, 1692. (Murillo Velarde's *Hist. de Philipinas*, fol. 369.)

¹⁵⁹ Pedro de Espinar was born at Toledo, March 27, 1630; at the age of seventeen he entered the Jesuit order, and in 1653 he came to the Philippines, where he professed in 1664. He ministered in the Visayas during ten years, and was procurator of his province eight years. Going to Madrid and Rome as procurator-general of the province, he afterward exercised that office for the Indias – first in Sevilla, where he spent eight years; and afterward in Madrid, where he died in 1695. (Murillo Velarde's *Hist. de Philipinas*, fol. 369 verso.)

¹⁶⁰ On February 26, 1669, the minor children of Mansilla presented a petition demanding their father's release. The usurper, suspecting that Corbera, the royal fiscal, had drawn up this document, arrested him and confiscated his goods; then brought suit against him, employing false and bribed witnesses. On the night of March 2, Corbera, hearing that Bonifaz was preparing to banish him, escaped through a window, and fled for refuge to the Jesuit church at San Miguel, without the walls of Manila, where he

embark in a champan for Octong, delivering the care of his person to a brave mulatto – a native of Sevilla, and a soldier of Ternate – named Simón de Torres, whom he made captain of the fleet of Iloilo, sending a very stringent order to the sargento-mayor Francisco Prado de Quirós not to allow Don Francisco to leave that presidio. He did so, and the auditor remained there until the new governor, Don Manuel de León, ordered that he be recalled thence. Don Francisco de Coloma remained but a short time in Bay, for, like the good Christian that he was, he submitted himself, yielding to the condition of the times, in order to avoid scandal. Thus Don Juan Manuel withdrew him, and the two ruled over political matters, Don Francisco Coloma signing first, and Don Juan Manuel de la Peña governed in military affairs.

All that government of the usurper Don Juan Manuel was very peaceable; for he was a wise and prudent man, and of very excellent intentions. If the desire to command misled him into pushing himself into the government, which did not belong to him, the fault ought not to be attributed to him, but to those who allowed themselves to be deceived because of their passions. . . . The first thing that he did was to bring from Cebú that great soldier, so often appointed in past years, the commander Don Francisco de Atienza y Báñez – who had retired, and was passing his honorable old age in quiet; and Don Juan availed himself of his counsels for military

remained in the sanctuary. On June 25 he died, his death being hastened by the anxiety and suffering caused by Bonifaz's treatment of him. (Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, pp. 604, 605, 613, 614.)

arrangements. He treated the soldiers very well, and increased their pay, and paid them a sum of money on account of what was due them for their services. In that way he exhausted the royal treasury; and it was this which created most hostility against him in the royal Council. He must have thought that his government would last a longer time, for Don Diego de Salcedo had served five years in his government, and, according to the length of time that his three predecessors had governed, a long time was still left for Don Juan. But this reckoning ended ill; for Governor Don Manuel de León was in Méjico, because authentic information had reached the royal Council of the Indias of the irregularities committed by Don Diego de Salcedo.

At that time the bishop of Cebú, Don Fray Juan López, arrived at Manila on matters pertaining to his church concerning the result of the visitation which he had made in the province of Ogtong. But as he found the governor very busy in strengthening his intrusion, while the royal Audiencia was much in need of ministers, he could get nothing done except the issue of some pontifical acts regarding orders and confirmations, and to return to his church.

However much Don Juan Manuel de la Peña tried by diligence to please all, he was not without danger of his life through the malice of assassins or the neglect of undisciplined soldiers. For while he was one afternoon watching the marching of the companies which are changed daily as guards at the gates of the city, it happened that when an obsequious military officer was ordering that a general salute to him be fired, a musket ball passed over Don Juan Manuel's right shoulder, and was embedded in a

brick wall of the window from which he was leaning. Investigations were instituted in order to get at the cause; but they were all in vain, as those who fired were so many, and it could not be learned who had loaded with ball. The governors have many such dangers because of the carelessness of the undisciplined soldiers. Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara was in danger of being killed in another salute like that; and the ball passed clear through the hand of Licentiate Manuel de Olivera, who was at the governor's side.

The pens of juriconsults were not lacking to defend the government of Don Juan Manuel de la Peña as legitimate. Among others, Licentiate Don Juan de Rosales, a lawyer of the royal Audiencia and alcalde-mayor of Tondo for the new governor, published a printed manifesto of which many copies may be found in possession of persons who are curious. But afterward, at a safe time, he published another manuscript against his antagonist Licentiate Manuel Suárez de Olivera, in which he not only accuses Don Juan Manuel of being a usurper, but also as guilty of lese-majesty. *Tot capita, tot sententiae*.¹⁶¹

CHAPTER XXXIII

Coming of the governor Don Manuel de León y Sarabia; and arrival of a plentiful mission of religious.

(1669-70)

The government of Don Juan Manuel de la Peña lasted for eleven months, amid great quiet for the community of Manila, as he was very prudent and

¹⁶¹ i.e., "As many opinions as there are persons."

peaceable, and, above all, disinterested – which appears to have been lacking in his predecessor, on which account there was so great discontent with the latter's government.¹⁶² He despatched two galleons

¹⁶² Of interest in the controversies aroused by the usurpation of the governorship of the Philippines after the arrest of Diego Salcedo is the following document, issued by the Franciscans of Manila. Similar documents were issued also by the Recollects on June 10, and by the Dominicans on June 11. All three originals are owned by Mr. Edward E. Ayer of Chicago, and we translate directly therefrom.

"We, father Fray Pedro Bautista, calificador of the Holy Inquisition, and provincial minister of the province of San Gregorio of the Philipinas Islands of the discalced religious of the glorious father St. Francis, and father Fray Juan de Jerez, lecturer on sacred theology, and guardian in this convent of Manila of the same order, testify that we personally know Licentiate Don Francisco de Montemayor y Mansilla, member of his Majesty's Council, and his auditor in the royal Audiencia and Chancillería resident in the islands. He is very upright and disinterested, and shows great prudence and energy in the despatch of all causes and business. On all occasions he manifests the great facility that his long study and experience have acquired for him. He is modest and peaceable in behavior, and thus of easy access to all who go to him. He gives an ear to their affairs very willingly, and with all justice, for with his Grace nothing is more esteemed than justice. Consequently, his able and honest method of procedure in the duties in his charge, and especially his close attention to the duties of the Audiencia and the other things in his care, make him beloved by all the community. In the many commissions that have been charged to him, we have seen him despatch them with great expedition and maturity of judgment. We have heard all the above declared by several persons on certain occasions; and, inasmuch as we feel what all men feel we most solemnly asseverate it, and attest that thus we do believe. We give the present with our signatures attached, in Manila, June nine, one thousand six hundred and fifty-five.

"FRAY PEDRO BAPTISTA, provincial minister.

"FRAY JUAN XEREZ, guardian of Manila.

[Portion of signature illegible.]

"In testimony of truth,

"NICOLAS DE HERRERA,

public and royal notary."

This is followed by a notarial attestation, signed by three notaries, declaring the validity of all documents that pass before Alferez Nicolas de Herrera.

to Nueva España – “Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro,” in charge of the same commander, Diego de Arévalo; and the flagship “San Diego,” in charge of Don Francisco Vizcarra, alguacil-mayor of the Holy Office, who had arrested Don Diego de Salcedo. The latter was served by Captain Miguel Cárdenas, Juan de Alquiza, and others. But neither of the two ships made the voyage; for the flagship, which sailed from Lampón, put back at Cavite, and the almiranta, which sailed from Cavite, put back at Lampón. They placed Don Diego in the convent of Guadalupe, whence, as he was sick, they took him to Los Baños on Laguna de Bay. He left there the following year, in order to prosecute his voyage to Acapulco; and he died in the northern latitude, very well prepared, and as a good Christian – leaving behind great hopes for his salvation, as one whom our Lord had brought back to obedience by the road of tribulation, through so grievous a stroke.

The galleon “San José,” which had left Cavite the year before, returned from Acapulco in the month of July; and as the vendavals had prevented its making that port by way of the Embocadero, it was obliged to anchor, and to seek safety in the port of Palapag in the province of Leyte. That galleon brought the new governor, Master-of-camp Don Manuel de León y Saravia, a native of Paredes de Nava, a valiant soldier from his youth in the countries of Flandes, Galicia, and other parts. He had begun the rudiments of the military art in the celebrated battle of Lutzen, in which died that thunderbolt of the north, Gustavo Adolfo, king of Suecia, in the year 1632 – who caused so great destruction in Alemania [*i.e.*, Germany] by his captains Gustavo

Hom, Bernardo de Veymar, Bautis Gratz, and other heretics until the battle of Norlinguen, fought by the cardinal infante in the year 1634,¹⁶³ in which battle also Don Manuel de León participated; and the latter had been in other famous battles of those times. He had been an infantry captain for fifteen years in Flandes, and was afterward sargento-mayor and master-of-camp. He was moved from Flandes with his army to the frontiers of Galicia to fight against Portugal in the year 1660. There he gave so good an account of himself that he was called "the iron leader" because of his valor and daring. He was governor of Munzón and Valencia in Galicia. While he was soliciting an office in Madrid, the queen-mother and her associate governors tried to send him to be governor of Cádiz; but he elected to come to Filipinas, retaining the office of master-of-camp and the reward of the habit of Santiago. We can believe that divine Providence made him desire that charge so that he might be the consolation and remedy of these islands; for in his time the islands enjoyed the greatest quiet, happiness, and plenty that they had enjoyed for many years. For the voyages from Nueva España were more secure and not a single galleon was lost; and commerce with China and Macán was very flourishing, as it was likewise with the coast of Coromandel, this latter being estab-

¹⁶³ The battle of Lützen, in which Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden was slain, occurred on November 16, 1632. That of Nördlingen was fought (September 5-6, 1634) by the Swedish troops under Gustav Horn and Bernard, duke of Weimar, against Ferdinand of Hungary, son of Emperor Ferdinand II and Fernando of Spain, a brother of Felipe IV – a cardinal in the Church as well as a prince (*infante*) of Spain. At Nördlingen the Swedes were defeated with great loss, including the capture of their leader Horn.

lished in his term. There were no wars with the Dutch, nor with any other foreign nation; nor did any province revolt. The Mindanaos did not make their usual raids, and there was perpetual peace because of the quiet behavior and the death of Cachil Corralat. There were only some incursions by the Camucones, who are thieving pirates subject to Borneo. The fruits of the earth were very plentiful, and no earthquakes or other disasters occurred. The community of Manila, which had been living for so many years in continual fear, thought now of nothing else than of their trade and merchandise, and of feasting and rejoicing. To that happiness was added the fact that Don Manuel de León was by nature very benevolent, pious, simple, and very even in disposition; and, above all, far removed from cupidity and self-interest, and desirous that all should enjoy peace and quiet. He brought an excellent household, who afterward proved of great honor to the community of Manila. Among the more illustrious were his nephew Don Alonso de León, who was an excellent citizen; Don Tomás de Endaya, a native of San Sebastián, who was thrice commander of the ships on the Nueva-España line, and afterward master-of-camp for his Majesty in these islands for many years, until the year 1715, when he died; Don José de Medraza, native of Écija, twice commander on the Nueva-España line, and regularly-appointed castellan of the fort of Santiago in the city of Manila; Sargento-mayor Don José de Castellar, native of Valladolid, his secretary; Captain Don Juan de Cabrera; Don Agustín Crespo; and many others. In his company came Don Laureano de Vera, factor, and Don Antonio de Egea, accountant, of the royal

treasury, able ministers, and zealous for the king's service. The governor made his way through the provinces of Camarines, Tayabas, and Laguna de Bay, and entered Manila to assume his office on September 8, the day consecrated to the nativity of our Lady the most holy Virgin, the mother of God.

In the company of that governor came the largest reënforcement that had thus far arrived—namely, thirty-two religious, whom the father-procurator, commissary, and vicar-general, Fray Isidro Rodríguez, had brought with him. It was the balance of the mission that he had sent the former year—which, all told, reckoning it as one mission, was the most goodly and numerous mission that had come to this province from its foundation; for it consisted of forty-eight religious and three lay-brothers. They entered the convent of Manila on October 4, the day of St. Francis.

As soon as Don Manuel de León assumed his government, Auditor Don Juan Manuel de la Peña Bonifaz appeared as a refugee at the porter's lodge of our convent of Manila, with which the suits that were expected were avoided.¹⁶⁴ However, he was hardly safe here, for a strenuous effort was made to drag him out of the sanctuary. For that attempt a very criminal opinion was given by Licentiate Don Manuel Suárez de Olivera; but the new governor, for greater assurance, referred the matter to Doctor

¹⁶⁴ The new governor, Manuel de Leon, reached Manila on September 24, 1669. He at once recalled all the refugees and exiles. Mansilla came back December 6, and promptly made complaint before the governor against the usurping auditor and his accomplices. Bonifaz accordingly took refuge in the Franciscan convent, where he continued to cause disquiet and commotions among the people. (Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, pp. 614-617.)

Don Francisco de Pizarro y Orellana, judge-provisor of the vacant see of Manila, and formerly the consecrated bishop of Nueva Segovia. He and the orders gave their opinion to the effect that Don Manuel ought not to be taken from the sanctuary, as his crime was not *lacsae majestatis in primo capite*¹⁶⁵ which Don Manuel Suárez imputed to him for having usurped the government and for the diminution of the royal treasury. Don Juan Manuel passed considerable time in that retreat, until Death with his scythe cut the Gordian knot of that litigation. Some years later, the resolution of the royal Council of the Indias was received, in which all that Don Juan Manuel had done was annulled, as also were the concessions and military titles that he had conferred, as the rules laid down in the famous law *Barbaribus Philippus II de offic. Praetor* had no place. It is said that capital sentence came for him, but death had executed it. His wife and children were left very poor; but that has always been experienced with the children of auditors in these regions. That plague or punishment is seen in the citizens of Manila, for scarcely can one find a son who attains preëminence by inheritance from his parents. In the daughters alone is that penalty found to be diminished, but it is finally executed on the grandchildren. The suit between the two auditors was also decided by the supreme Council of the Indias in favor of Don Francisco de Coloma, and he accordingly assumed the government at the first vacancy.

The community of Manila began to breathe under the peaceable and disinterested government of Don Manuel de León, who tried throughout to fulfil his

¹⁶⁵ *i.e.*, "Lese-majesty in the first degree."

duty. First he established order and discipline in the camp of Manila, by abolishing many abuses. He appointed Don Juan de Robles Cortés, a very noble citizen, as sargento-mayor, and veteran soldiers as captains. He placed the galleon "San Antonio" on the stocks, and constructed galleys for the fleet, as such vessels had been of great service for defense on the occasions when Manila had been invaded by the Dutch arms.¹⁰⁶ As commanders of the galleys he appointed Pedro Lozano and Don José de Novoa, a valiant Galician. The latter went out the second time to pursue the hostile Camucones, in company with the valiant mulatto Simon de Torres, whose color alone prevented him from being the commander of the galleys. But those Camucones, as thievish enemies, carry out their enterprises in safety, and trust their retreat to the swiftness of their craft, which is remarkable. The governor ordered Don Pedro de la Peña to withdraw from the presidio of Orori on the frontier of the Igolotes, as that presidio was entirely useless and only an object of expense, without any profit. For the Igolotes, who are today friendly and subject, rebel tomorrow, and their villages disappear; and we controlled a few only, who were gathered in the villages of Bauang, Bangar, and Narbacán, where many souls of those who were baptized were obtained.

That year a function was solemnized which had

¹⁰⁶ The usurper, with little experience or ability in matters of government, accomplished little that was of use, but spent much money; but "he oppressed and burdened more than ever the provinces and the Indians, under pretext of cutting timber for building ships and for making the port of Cavite secure with palisades - a task of the utmost hardship for the poor wretches." (Ventura del Arco MSS., ii, p. 581.)

not been performed for many years, namely, the publication of the edicts of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in the cathedral of Manila, on the first Sunday in Lent. The father commissary, Fray José de Paternina, was present, as were also all the officials and servants of the Holy Office, who were but few in that time. The new governor and the royal Audiencia were present, and father master Juan de Paz preached. On the following Sunday the letter of excommunication [*anatema*] was read, in the form usual to this holy tribunal, against those who have not denounced within the term of one week those who had committed the crimes against our holy faith which are mentioned in the edicts. That solemn function was not again repeated every three years, as is ordered by the Inquisitors; this was not done, not only within three years, but not for forty-nine, and until the present year of 1718, in which this history is written – the commissary being the reverend master and father presentado, Fray Juan de Archedera, of the Order of Preachers; and the governor, the mariscal of the army, Don Fernando Manuel Bustillo Bustamente y Rueda, in his first year. That religious ceremony was performed with the greatest solemnity that has been seen in these islands by the many ministers, commissaries, and calificadors, belonging to the secular clergy and orders, whom the holy tribunal had. The most eminent persons in the community acted as familiars; at the order of the Inquisitors of Méjico, these were present not only with banners, but also with the white and black cross (the insignia of this holy office) on their capes and mantles – the religious wearing it on their cowls, worked in gold and silver. On the

evening of Saturday, March 12, the procession marched through all the city, the standard of the faith setting out from the convent of St. Dominic, carried by Sargento-mayor Don Domingo Bermúdez, a citizen of Manila, who had been alcalde-in-ordinary the preceding year. The regidores and most eminent citizens accompanied him, dressed in gala attire and on gaily decked horses, and followed by many lackeys wearing rich livery (which is less costly in Manila than in other places). The father commissary rode a mule with trappings, and was accompanied by the servants of the holy tribunal, both ecclesiastical and lay, the alcaldes with their maces, and the drums, and followed by the other officials, all on horseback.

The second Sunday of Lent, March 13, the same parade was held from the convent of St. Dominic to the cathedral. The father commissary was there, under a canopy in the chancel on the gospel side; and the ministers of the Holy Office in the body of the church, on their benches on the epistle side. The above-mentioned governor was there, and was the head of the city, as there was no royal Audiencia. The father secretary, Fray Francisco de Contreras, read the edicts, and the father lecturer Varela, of the Order of St. Dominic, preached. After mass the standard of the faith was returned, and the father commissary and all the tribunal went to the convent of St. Dominic, accompanied by the governor and captain-general, and by the rest of his retinue of the preceding day.

The following Sunday, March 20, the father commissary and all the tribunal left the convent of St. Dominic, and went afoot to the cathedral, where the serious and fearful ceremony was performed of

reading the letter of excommunication against those who do not denounce persons whom they know to have fallen into heresies and the sins mentioned in the edicts. That is a ceremony that strikes fear and terror into the hardest heart; its tenor and details I omit, as it is long to tell and terrifying to hear. That ceremony was performed with the greatest solemnity and gravity possible. Inasmuch as it is not my intention, nor ought I, to come down to these present times with my records [in this history], I have thought it advisable to mention that matter in this place as a memorial of so holy a ceremony.

Our province was greatly advanced in that triennium by the great prudence and affability of its provincial, our father Fray Dionisio Suárez, who was more angel than man. With the abundant aid that had arrived in that year and the preceding one, plenty of ministers were appointed for all the convents; those convents which had been united with others were separated, and ministers placed in them; and in the large and populous places two [ministers were stationed]. The work was so apportioned that it could be endured; for the overwork occasioned by the lack [of ministers] had been the cause of many dying and others falling ill. Divine Providence also assisted by communicating grace to the newcomers, and facility in learning the languages of our provinces. Therefore, after a few months many of the latter found themselves sufficiently qualified in that respect to become ministers, alone and without company, in the missions. This province became renewed and flourishing with the abundance of religious, and the study of the arts and theology was greatly assisted in the convent of Manila. Min-

isters were placed in the missions of those who were recently converted in the hill-country of Ilocos, in the villages of Aclán, Vera, and Bangbanglo, father Fray Benito de Mena assisting them all the days of his life – which lasted until the year 1695, after he had founded the mission called Bangi, on the outskirts of the province of Cagayán.

MANILA AND THE PHILIPPINES ABOUT 1650

[The following is translated and synopsized from Domingo Fernandez Navarrete's *Tratados historicos*,¹⁶⁷ pp. 299-332.]

SIXTH TREATISE ON THE VOYAGES AND NAVIGATIONS MADE BY THE AUTHOR OF THIS BOOK

[Chapter i relates the voyage from Spain to Nueva España, in 1646, the ocean trip to Vera Cruz lasting sixty days. Thence journeying toward Mexico City (chapter ii), they reached the Dominican hospice of San Jacinto de Tacuba, outside the city walls. The last land journey, the one to Acapulco, was undertaken November 3, 1647. In chapter iii Navarrete gives a description of Acapulco. Its houses are all low, "the best ones built of mud, and all thatched with straw. Notwithstanding, for ours

¹⁶⁷ The translation of the title-page of this book is as follows: "Historical, political, ethical, and religious treatises on the monarchy of China. A brief description of that empire and curious instances regarding the emperors and magistrates of that country. Accompanied by a diffuse narrative of various events and singular things in other kingdoms, and various voyages. The pontifical decrees and propositions authorized in Roma for the Chinese mission are added, and a bull of our most holy father Clemente X, in favor of the missionaries. By the father master Fray Domingo Fernandez

they demanded from us four hundred eight-real pieces. This seems incredible; but for me, who paid the money, it is more than certain." "The port is

Navarrete, professor of morning classes in the college and university of Santo Thomàs of Manila, apostolic missionary in Great China, superior of those of his mission, and procurator-general in the court of Madrid for the province of Santo Rosario of Filipinas, of the Order of Preachers. He dedicates his work to the most serene Don Juan of Austria. Year 1676. With license. Madrid, in the royal printing-house. Printed by Juan Garcia Infançon. At the expense of Florian Anisson, bookseller."

Domingo Fernandez Navarrete, a native of Peñafiel in the province of Valladolid and diocese of Palencia, and a son of the convent at the same place (December 8, 1635), after having studied in the college at Valladolid became lecturer on philosophy in the same institution. On arriving at the Philippines he was first assigned to the Tagalog missions, and immediately appointed lecturer in theology in the college of Santo Tomás of Manila; but he was sent to the province of Bataan because of his poor health. Soon, however, his superiors were compelled to reappoint him to the chair in the college, for the same reason. Taking advantage of the summer vacation, the zealous father went to the Mindoro missions, where he labored and suffered considerably; and in 1653 he went to Macasar, whence he had to return without accomplishing anything. His ill health continuing, he was forced to try to return to his convent in Spain. He was detained for some time in Macasar, and there, fearing the long journey ahead of him, determined to go to China by way of Macao - reaching the city of Fogan November 3, 1658, after many sufferings. Applying himself to the study of the Chinese language, he mastered it in both the written and spoken forms. Although he could have escaped at the outbreak of the persecution of Christians in 1664, he refused to do so, and was arrested in February, 1665. July 8 of that year he was taken to Peking with other Dominicans. Being condemned to exile, he left Peking, September 13, 1665, and remained in Canton until 1669, when he secretly set out for Manila. On reaching Macao, he determined to return to Europe instead of to Manila, finally arriving at Lisbon in 1672. He reached Madrid in May of that year, and Rome (his objective point) on January 6, 1673. After his return to Madrid (within sixteen months), he exercised the duties of procurator-general for the Philippine province. In 1677 he was appointed bishop of Isla Española, where he arrived in 1678. He died in 1689, aged over seventy. He wrote three volumes of his voyages, but only two of them were printed; these appeared in several languages. He also wrote various things in the Chinese language. See *Reseña biográfica*, i, pp. 455-459.

the best and safest in the world, as was daily asserted by those persons who had seen many other ports. Of all that I have seen, and those have not been few, there is not one that can equal it. The fort is excellent, and has a battery of twelve first-class pieces [*apostolado*], so that it is impossible for any ship to enter the port without being sent to the bottom. The climate is infernal, in accordance with the name that it bears."¹⁰⁸ After much delay a patache was finally secured which was going to carry the usual supplies to the Philippines, the religious (thirty in number) embarking April 8, 1648. The usual discomforts of the voyage were experienced, but the patache at last anchored at Lampon.]

At midnight the vendaval blew violently, and, as it came from the land, our anchors dragged, and we were driven out to sea. One would believe that a special providence of God sent that wind in order to prevent the enemy from entering and seizing everything. Next day the money was made safe, as were also the goods of his Majesty and those of private persons; and an attempt was made to hide the patache back of an islet so that the enemy could not discover it, even though they might enter the same port. We [religious] set out for Manila, and along the way heard of the singular joy caused by our unexpected arrival, which had been hoped for or imagined by no one. That great joy was somewhat tempered because the enemy quite accidentally discovered the patache, and hastened against it with men and arms. Our men being poorly prepared,

¹⁰⁸ Near the end of the preceding chapter, our author states that the name Acapulco "means, in the language of that country, 'mouth of hell.' "

and not in harmony, and the commander being but a sorry soldier, they burned the patache before they ought to have done so; and in one half hour his Majesty lost 36,000 pesos, and those in the patache some credit and reputation.

[8]. We continued on our way for four days, on foot – not by the road, for there is none, but over inaccessible high rocks, crags, and passes. We crossed several rivers by swimming, and forded others with the water up to our breasts. In the mountains (which are very high, and covered thickly with trees) we found so many leeches that we could find no relief or means by which to free ourselves from them, and there was no one who did not lose blood from his body. I affirm with all truth that I saw one which was burrowing, head first, half-way through my shoe, and I cried out to some persons to look at that prodigy; and in fact they did look at it in surprise at such a thing. The rain fell in great streams from the sky. At the coming of night, we halted where it overtook us. The Indians covered over some rude huts with palm leaves, and there we slept upon the grass and the ground soaked with water. On the last day we descended a hill two leguas in length, although some said it was longer. Although it took us three days to ascend that ridge, we descended it in one. It was very rough in parts, and the rain came down steadily, so that we slipped at every step without being able to do anything else. I assert that I saw some of my associates who sat down and allowed themselves to be carried, not a small distance, by the currents of the water. And yet they were so joyful and happy that one cannot easily imagine their delight.

9. We reached Apanguiel (where there is a very fine convent of our father St. Francis) so wet, dirty, tired, and hungry, that all the welcome that was shown us there was needed in order that we might remain men visible to human eyes. The reception accorded us was, I presume, in accordance with the charity of those servants of God. Next day two fathers came thither from Manila, and we had thereupon another consolation. Another, the father guardian Fray Lucas de N. took four of us to his convent. He had a very fine church, and a good enough house, while the site was the best and pleasantest that could be thought of or imagined. It is located on a height, and the whole lake of Bay (which is thirty leguas in circumference) and some islands in its midst, could be seen from a balcony. Land and mountains could be seen on all sides, with thickets, palm-groves, banana-groves, rivers, and creeks, which was wonderfully pleasing to the sight. After that we visited other convents; and all that we saw was novel and wonderful to us. We departed for Manila in two boats, and, crossing the bay, spent the night at Binangoa, where the father guardian, Fray Francisco N. gave us a fine welcome. Next night, we continued our voyage to the entrance of the lake, where ten boats from Manila were awaiting us, which were manned by Chinese, mestizos, and Indians. We said mass, and, having embarked, descended the river to the festal accompaniment of fire-crackers, small gongs, and arquebuses. The gongs of the Chinese were very amusing to us; for, though they were no larger than a barber's basin, they made as much sound as a large bell. It is a wonderful instrument. The river is one of the most beautiful in

the world. That of Goa is wider and deeper, but the former is more adorned with palaces, gardens, villages, and churches. We entered some palaces which would be a wonder to any European. We reached the bridge of Manila, which is a famous work. We saw it filled with people of various nationalities. We entered our convent amid the pealing of bells, and there we immediately visited the most sacred and miraculous image of our Lady of the Rosary, the consolation of all that community, and of all those islands also, in all extremities and necessities. Its sight alone cheered our souls, and made us forget all our past hardships. The father provincial conceded to us, as a great treat and privilege, one week of matins. The fathers of other missions say that only three days had been set aside for them, so that the time given to us seemed very liberal. In truth, some assisted in the choir that same night; but my spirit was not so fervent that it ventured to so much.

CHAPTER IIII

Of my stay in Manila

1. Don Diego Faxardo Chacon was governor of the islands. That gentleman had great gifts for government, for he had a horror of money and of women. One day father Fray Andres Gomez, a religious of my order, took him a bit of the *lignum crucis* [i.e., wood of the cross] set in gold. He valued it highly, but refused to receive the relic until the gold was taken away. He was very retiring, and gave ear to no one save Manuel Estacio de Venegas. The latter grew so haughty by reason of the favor-

itism and power that he possessed, that he dominated everything as a despot. He was feared by all people, no less than was Nero in his time; but well did he rue it afterward. Don Diego Faxardo had kept Don Sebastian de Corcuera a prisoner already for five years. Strange reversal of fortune that! Don Sebastian was the most feared, and the most haughty and absolute governor that has ever been in those islands. In his time happened that exile of the archbishop which caused so much comment among all those nations. He undertook the Jolo war, in which the nobility of Manila were destroyed. The island of Hermosa was lost by his neglect and carelessness in sending reënforcements, as was stated by all people there. He amassed untold wealth. He was sent a prisoner to Nueva España, and then to Madrid, where it is said that he negotiated advantageously. They were expecting in Manila different news from that which arrived, of the condition of his affairs. I know well that they have written that he was a very disinterested man, but the author does not prove the statement further than by saying so. I read in a document that Don Sebastian de Corcuera purged himself of that charge by saying that he had amassed his wealth with the pay given him by his Majesty. But another document presents the following argument. First, that governors cannot trade and traffic with the pay given them by his Majesty. Second, that it is impossible to gain with his pay what he spent in the monstrance which was recently taken to his Majesty; what was lost in the ship wrecked at the Ladrones, and what was burned at Acapulco; and the money that he possessed in Mexico, with the large sums taken from him in Burgos. Nor can it be

inferred that he was a good governor, because he acted as a good Christian after he left the islands. Nor does there follow any other inconvenience from making known the truth with good zeal than the fact that those who do not wish to know it are not pleased to hear it. While Estacio de Venegas was a citizen of Manila, he was liked by all; but, when he became the favorite, he was hated. It makes a great difference whether one is in the position or not, in order that he may govern himself according to his natural disposition. Don Sebastian was the one who instituted the *vandalas* (this is a name given by the natives, and signifies *repartimiento*), which have destroyed all the Indians. In order that one may understand what they are, I will explain them here in a few words. I assume, at the start, that it is a great piece of ignorance to attribute this *repartimiento* to Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, or to make him its author. When that gentleman assumed the government, the Indians must have been paying the *vandalas* for fourteen or more years; then how could he have originated them? For, in the term of that gentleman, Pampanga rose in insurrection in order not to pay that tax. Someone, or several people, new to the country, must have invented what was afterward declared with the mouth. It is true that that insurrection caused Don Sabiniano to give the Indians a great sum of pesos on account of what was owing to them, as I was told afterward; but that was to pay [their just due], which has nothing to do with saying that he invented that imposition. In fine, after the Indian has paid his tribute, helped in the cutting of wood, and rendered personal services (which are numerous), levies on the provinces are

made each year. For example, Pampanga is assessed twenty-four thousand fanegas of rice at the price of two or two and one-half reals per fanega, as it is for his Majesty; and it is placed on credit until such time as God pleases.¹⁶⁹ That quota [of rice] is apportioned among the Indians of that province, and is collected with great rigor, and with many deceits which the officials¹⁷⁰ who exact it practice. [This levy] costs him to whom three fanegas are allotted at least one-half fanega more than he gives in his measure; and him who gives six, one fanega more, and so on. This is what is called vandala, and this is what they [*i.e.*, the Spaniards] have paid for so many years—whence it follows that the Indians leave the islands, as I shall relate in another part, and that they refuse to sow their fields, as I myself have heard. It is an evident fact that if once in a while that assessment were to be levied on the account of the tribute, or if they were exempted from personal services, the Indians would be very happy and satisfied. But how can this continue all the years? and how can there be money in the treasury to pay the employees, officials, and leaders, and to meet other expenses, when there is never any money to pay for what is bought from the Indians? If the Indians die on account of this and other things, of what use will that country be, and what will the Spaniards do there?

¹⁶⁹ That is, the native has to supply the rice, and is (at least nominally) credited with it on an account; but he receives no return for it until the royal officials choose to pay.

¹⁷⁰ Spanish *arraezes*: a term applied to the captains of Moorish vessels; here probably referring to the captains of the champans or other small vessels sent to convey the rice, etc., levied from the natives.

3 [*i.e.*, 2]. The greatest hardship that we religious endure in the villages of the Indians is the sight of their sufferings, and the effort to seek means and methods to console them. It happens (as it happened in my time) that the rice-crop in a village was ruined (this is a quite usual occurrence, because of the rats which eat it, and at other times for the lack of water, and at others because the sea rises and overflows their fields) so that it was impossible to pay even the tribute. That was explained to the *alcalde-mayor*, and a petition was presented to the governor. But nothing had any effect, and the Indians had to purchase the rice at four reals per fanega, and gave it to his Majesty on credit that would never be paid, at two and one-half reals [per fanega]. Surely, the paternal compassion of our most Catholic kings would not permit such things if they had any knowledge of them. It would be better for the Indians that the governors should support them, and that they should work during the whole year for the tribute and *vandalas*, than that they should be treated as they are today. It is a great misfortune that the Tartar protects so well the Chinese, his vassals, while our people try to escape from caring for the vassals of our king and sovereign, although his will has been so often declared and charged upon them. It is no wonder that those islands are so exhausted, although it is a land which in every way is exceedingly good, abundant, and fertile.

[3]. If I were to mention special cases I would never finish. In my time I know well that an *alcalde-mayor* of Ilocos squeezed fourteen thousand pesos from his district in two years. In how good condi-

tion must the Indians and their land have remained! It would be well for those who write and have written from there to speak clearly and specifically of things and persons, and not in general and in loose terms, thus giving opportunity to blame the innocent or to clear the guilty. That ought to be a special end or desire. Everyone knows how disinterestedly our province lives and has lived in that land, and that it has never allowed the slightest income as dues of the Indians whom it administers. It has never received them, but has always been satisfied with the alms which both the Spaniards and the natives of the country freely give. In that way have they maintained themselves, while with the alms given them by his Majesty (may God preserve him) they have clothed themselves, and nothing has been wanting. It is necessary to declare who does it, in order not to injure all. . . .

4. One year a certain governor wrote against Ours of Pangasinan (he was at one time affectioned to Ours and at another averse, for so wags the world) that they had burned some forests whence wood had to be obtained for the shipbuilding, etc. What effects would such a letter cause if seen in the Council of the Indias, and one written by a governor? If one wished to burn the hundredth part of one single forest with the help of ten thousand Indians, he could not do it in a whole year; to whomever has seen the forests of Philipinas this remark is not only true but most true, and the proofs are more than evident. The effect produced by the Negrillos who live in the interior of those and other forests, although they are numerous and make fires daily, is never noticed or heard of. In the island of Min-

doro, where I made two journeys, I saw with my own eyes what the Indians do there. They have no lands for sowing. In order to get rice they set fire to a bit of forest. After days of labor in it they continue to fell and cut down the small trees together with the branches; then they again set fire to it and burn it all. They set fires at the foot of the large trees, until gradually the thick ones are consumed. As the trees are so hard-wooded, it is necessary to take a week and even longer to arrange and feed the fire. After an Indian has worked from morning to night for two months, he manages to clear an *obra*¹⁷¹ of land. Then how could a vicar and a few Indians burn whole forests? If this were not so, I would not write it; but, since the case is quite forgotten, I will refrain [from enlarging on] it—except that, for others that may happen, it is advisable to know this one, so that no one may inconsiderately believe what is in reality incredible. Don Sebastian Cavallero de Medina, while fiscal for his Majesty in Manila, in order to show his zeal or to gain reputation, wrote about the excessive fees which the religious collected from the Indians. People here would believe that such an offense was common to all. He ought to have made known what was in it, and not place the innocent in danger of being declared guilty by not explaining the fault of some persons.

5. A week after our arrival we were divided among various provinces in order to learn the languages, and be able to minister to the Indians. I remained in the province of Manila, where I learned

¹⁷¹ As much ground as two mules or two oxen can plow in one day.

the Tagálog language in company with others without much difficulty. If the grammar or other handbook were studied in Europa with the earnestness with which we study languages there, any person would become learned in a very brief time. Within five months we were all confessing and preaching, and in one year we were very capable in both, and in discussing the affairs of the Indians with them. During that time, besides the occupations of the choir and church, we diverted ourselves with no other thing. All that time we spent in humbling ourselves to the elements and rudiments of extraordinary languages, for the maintenance and advantage of those souls. If the temperature were not so unlike that of our own country, we could have done twice as much. In order to relieve ourselves from the excessive heat, we made use of baths and of the fruits, which are very delicious; but, as time went on, we experienced sickness. The Indians always seemed fine fellows to me. They are not changeable and rough like those whom we saw in Mexico, but tractable and urbane and of especial intelligence and fine ability. Among them are some famous writers, painters, and sculptors. They are very adaptable for any mechanical work, and, above all, docile and very submissive to the priests. In regard to understanding the precepts of our holy faith, they can rival many here and surpass others. They possess fine books in their language, which have been printed by the religious. They are fond of reading in these, and to our labor and their docility is this fact owing. The Indian women are very devout and composed, and frequent the sacraments with great fervor. There is no feast, great or small, at which

there are not a large number of confessions and communions. I said often that the fervor of the old [Christians] of Castilla had passed to the Indians (both men and women) of Manila.

Often the Indians celebrate the feasts well. Rarely is one of them found who does not dance beautifully. Consequently, they have dancing and music in the processions; they play the harp and guitar excellently. His Majesty furnishes eight singers in every church. They have certain privileges, as they are busied in the divine office. They sing excellently, and, as there are always candidates, the number is always in excess. But only the eight who are assigned enjoy the privileges conceded. The adornment of the churches is quite sufficient, and is neat and tasteful. Since there are plenty of roses, other flowers, and fragrant herbs throughout the year, these things go far to furnish suitable adornment for the churches.

6. The Indians are much given to the use of the bow and arrow, especially the Indians called Cam-bales and those who live in the mountains. Their offensive and defensive weapons consist of such arms. I heard the old priests tell of many acts of skill in the use of them, which I was unable to believe until I had the opportunity to see it thoroughly for myself. People should not be so ready to believe whatever they hear, nor yet so obstinate as I have been at times. One day I came across a band of Indians from the mountain, among whom were four or seven or eight years of age or thereabout. I took an orange (a fruit of which there is an infinite supply there) and threw it up into the air as high as possible. Then said I, "There, my lads, shoot me that orange." In-

stantly all four shot it in the air, and it fell in bits. Another new religious and myself stood stupefied, while the old one who had told us about it laughed at us. I saw that with my own eyes in the small village called Abucanamataas. This is a sufficient proof that they are good archers.

7. During my stay in the islands, I attended to whatever obedience ordered me. I ministered to the Indians, lectured in our college and university of Santo Thomas, and preached – although I was always in poor health, for during two years the [climate of the] country affected me terribly. During that time some remarkable things happened; but I shall relate only a few of them, in order not to be too prolix. The master-of-camp, Don Lorenzo Laso – a fine and valiant soldier, and a giant in presence and stature – was governor of Terrenate. He was not liked by Manuel Estacio. He was accused of some traffic with the Dutch (pure nonsense that); his arrest was ordered, and he died on shipboard somewhat suddenly. His death was imputed to Estacio, and the latter was charged with it; I do not know how he cleared himself. Don Lorenzo's death was felt keenly, and was suspicious. He was well liked by all the community, and so feared and respected by the Chinese infidels that he alone, with sword and shield, in the insurrection that occurred during the term of Corcuera, held back a mob of Chinese on the bridge, who were entering by that way, as did Horatius Cocles on a similar occasion. Admiral Sebastian Lopez, a Portuguese and a most brave soldier, was living in Manila; he had performed wonders in the victories that we gained over the Dutch. He died very suddenly, and apparently by poison. His

death was also imputed to Manuel Estacio, as were many other deeds that were current here.

8. As the Dutch had committed depredations in that land in preceding years, and raided the districts of Batan (which are administered by religious of my order), and, because of our lack rather than their own valor, had taken possession of the churches, the government determined to demolish these. The principal mistake consisted in having allowed [the destruction of] those buildings already erected and finished; for they could be of no use to the enemy, since they had no seaport nor anchorage for their ships within one legua, nor yet a safe way by land if they had tried to journey that way. Our cowardice allowed the enemy to enter, and determined the ruin of those buildings, in which the natives suffered great hardship; for not only did they work, but all the timber (which was considerable, excellent, and their own) was taken from them, without giving them a single maravedi for it. Even of the stone Manuel Estacio made gifts. If the materials, since they were theirs, had been left to the Indians, so that they could have made use of them, they could have destroyed the churches and had more than enough money and time for their sowing and ordinary work. Many hardships came upon the poor wretches because of that; the least was that the enemy took some of them captives, as well as two of our religious, who were able ministers in the Tagalog speech.

When Don Lorenzo Laso died, Don Lorenzo de Ayala became master-of-camp. He had been castellan of the fort of Santiago. He was a very amiable gentleman, and there was no one in Manila who did not love him dearly. Doña Ana Tellez, his wife,

was a saintly woman; and the couple were known as "the good married pair." Each of them was more than seventy years old. Estacio was not satisfied at that, for the proud fellow could not endure to have anyone ascend higher than himself. He heaped troubles upon Don Lorenzo and the good old man ended his days to the general sorrow of all who knew him. The staff of office then passed to Don Pedro de Almonte. For some time past that gentleman had been exiled from Manila; he was not of Estacio's following, and consequently, it was feared that he would be cheated out of the office. But since the governor already had his eyes on Estacio because the latter had done a bad turn to Don Juan de Saraos, he summoned Don Pedro and gave him the command, as well as the habit of Santiago which went with it. The community was overjoyed at that, while Estacio was very sorrowful, and somewhat anxious about his fortune; for since he had been so exalted, and that with no small acts of violence, he could fear that a fall would follow his steps. . . . On the day of the Holy Cross in September, a quiet rumor spread through the city that he was arrested. All the people kept mute and did not dare to move their lips; for, if it were not true, he who uttered a single word would pay well for it. The news was confirmed, and it was ascertained that he had been imprisoned in the fort of Santiago. The city breathed and was relieved from so heavy a cross that had rested on it for so many years. He commenced on that day to take what God sent him; *cum in honore esset non intellexit*.¹⁷² He did not understand or know

¹⁷² i.e., "when he lived in honor, he did not understand."

how to retain his power.¹⁷⁸ Much of his property was seized, but he had hidden a vast quantity both in Manila and in Mexico. He suffered and endured, and finally died, after some years, in a dungeon. He would better have contented himself with his first fortune as merchant and citizen of Manila, in which every one liked him. He is the man who said he could stop the mouth of any governor who might succeed Don Diego with one or two hundred thousand pesos of eight. He deceived himself basely.

10. On Corpus Christi day of 53, a not small disaster happened to me, namely, that a bolt of lightning fell on the house of Batan, where I was then stationed. The Lord saved me and the other religious and the men of the convent. One week later another fell and fired off two muskets belonging to the house, killing a negro and an Indian who had gone out hunting. That disaster caused me a great fear; until then I confess that I had had little or no fear of thunder, but since then I have feared it so much that I could not fear it more. A little while after that, on the eve of St. Barnabas, when we were taking our collegiates of Santo Thomas to their vacations, as we were crossing the river the wind blew with great violence, so that the boat overturned and we all fell into the water. The waves were running so high that, as we firmly grasped the planks of the small champan, for it was overturned, it dragged us forward as if we were chaff. Our danger was great; and accordingly I was careful to absolve all, although with great hardship and tribulation. I had no one to absolve me, and almost no feeling or warning to lift

¹⁷⁸ Spanish, *assegurare en los estriuos* – literally, “to keep himself safe in the stirrups.”

my heart to God. The people who were looking at us, without being able to help us, were innumerable. It was God's pleasure that they should launch some canoes; and, although these were also overturned, they saved us. I was in the greatest danger, because of the weight of my habit. Two negroes who came up to me were they who, next to God, saved my life. We all returned to the wharf; our clothing and other things were lost. But the flask of wine for the mass, with only a little of its contents lost, was washed ashore, where it was recovered. Our Lord was pleased to deliver me, by His mercy, from all those accidents.

11. At that time word reached us of a grievous misfortune which had happened in Cagayan to one of my mission named Fray Luis Gutierrez, a native of Almagro, and a most excellent religious. On the day of the purification of our Lady in that year, he had said two masses in different villages. There was another village three leguas away. For the consolation of those Indians, and so that they might not be left without the mass on so solemn a day, he determined to go thither to say the third, and went by boat through a creek, which was most dangerous because of the crocodiles. In a certain place it was seen that one appeared disturbed. The Indians of the boat aroused themselves and tried to force the craft forward and to make a loud noise with voices and oars. But nothing availed them, for with two cruel blows of its tail against the boat the crocodile overturned it completely, so that they were all thrown into the water. The Indians, being lighter and unhampered by clothing, were able to reach land easily. The poor religious, weighted down by his habit and

little used to swimming, was left to be overtaken by that fierce and bloodthirsty animal. It seized him, and the poor man was buried in its fierce entrails. . . .

13. At times I saw most cruel and terrifying crocodiles—especially one morning when, going down to say mass at a village, I was descending the river to the sea. The Indians began to cry out “Crocodile, crocodile!” I looked about me in every direction, but could see none. They pointed it out to me with the finger, but even then I could not be sure that it was one. It was a fact that I did really see it, but, since it was so large and horrible, I could not persuade myself that it was a crocodile, or that there was so large a crocodile in the world as the mass that they pointed out to me. We approached nearer, and I finally saw and distinguished it most clearly. It was sleeping on a sandy islet near the mouth of the river. It seemed to be as large as the mainmast of a ship, and I had before imagined that mass to be some huge tree carried there by the current of that great river. I saw others afterward, although they were not equal to that one in size. Their aspect is most horrible, for they have four eyes, two above and two below. There are a countless number of them in the lake of Bai. During the dry season the larger cattle are pastured near there, for that place abounds in fine pastures. When the bulls and horses are feeding, and as they wander about in their grazing, the crocodile comes out of the water and carries off one today and another tomorrow with as great ease as the cat carries off a rat.

14. A short time before my arrival in the islands, a very peculiar thing happened. Some Indians had

been married, and, as they were about to eat, the bride was desirous of going down to the river to wash her feet, as they are in the habit of doing every day and every hour. The house stood partly over the river, as is their custom. While she was washing, a crocodile attacked her and carried her off. At her cries and the noise, some of the people ran out and saw the poor girl in the teeth of the crocodile, which was making off with its prey. The bridegroom, who beheld with his own eyes such a spectacle, blind with love and aroused by anger, with dagger in hand (but more rashly than prudently) threw himself into the water, and followed the beast that was carrying off his beloved prize. He overtook it and fought with it; he recovered his wife and returned triumphantly with the spoil in his arms, but she was already dead and lifeless. The bridegroom came back a widower, and sad and mournful, and with tears that wedding ended. That was a notable and very memorable occurrence. Many Indians have escaped from those monsters. It has been learned by experience that they are very sensitive in the eyes. Consequently, those who do not lose their presence of mind attack them in that part, on which occasions the crocodile flees as best it can in order to escape. It is said by all the people of that land that when the female lays its eggs, it always goes to some place where there is a current of water near by. The young animals having been hatched go down into the water, where their mother is waiting for them with open mouth. As many as she can catch she eats, but all that escape her, by one side or the other, remain free and alive. This they say is the reason why not all the rivers are full of those animals, although

there are many rivers where they abound. I shall return to the crocodiles on another occasion.

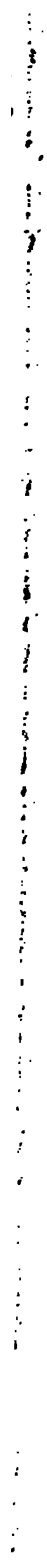
[The chapter closes with the account of the baptism of an infant who had been abandoned and thrown into the sea by its mother.]

(To be concluded.)

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

The sources of the documents in this volume are as follows:

1. *Events in Filipinas*. – From the Ventura del Arco MSS. (Ayer library), ii, pp. 643-692.
2. *Dominicans in the Philippines*. – From Baltasar de Santa Cruz's *Historia del Sant. Rosario* (Zaragoza, 1693), pp. 44 *et seq.*; from a copy in the possession of Edward E. Ayer, Chicago.
3. *Augustinians in the Philippines*. – From Casimiro Diaz's *Conquistas* (Manila, 1890), pp. 444 *et seq.*; from a copy in the possession of James A. Robertson.
4. *The Philippines about 1650*. – From Navarrete's *Tratados historicos* (Madrid, 1676), pp. 299-332; from a copy in the Library of Congress.



**Important
Historical Publications
OF
The Arthur H. Clark Company**

**Full descriptive circulars will be mailed
on application**

AUDUBON'S WESTERN JOURNAL: 1849-1850

Being the MS. record of a trip from New York to
Texas, and an overland journey through Mexico
and Arizona to the gold-fields of California

By

JOHN W. AUDUBON

With biographical memoir by his daughter

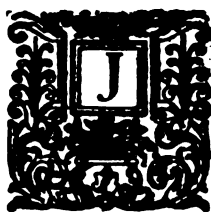
MARIA R. AUDUBON

Edited by

FRANK HEYWOOD HODDER

Professor of American History, University of Kansas

With folded map, portrait, and original drawings



JOHN W. AUDUBON, son of the famous ornithologist, was a member of Colonel Webb's California Expedition which started from New York City for the gold-fields in February, 1849. The Journal consists of careful notes which Audubon made en route. It was written with a view to publication, accompanied by a series of sketches made at intervals during the journey; but owing to Audubon's pre-occupation with other affairs, the plan of publication was never realized.

The Journal is, therefore, here published for the first time, and is illustrated by the author's original sketches, carefully reproduced. It gives a vivid first-hand picture of the difficulties of an overland journey to California, and of the excitements, dangers, and privations of life in the

AUDUBON'S WESTERN JOURNAL

gold-fields. An additional interest attaches to this account from the fact that Colonel Webb deserted his party, which consisted of nearly a hundred men, when the expedition reached Roma, and the command then by unanimous choice of the party devolved upon Audubon. This situation, as modestly related by the author, displays his sympathetic nature, as well as his keenness and ability as a leader.

Besides being a fascinating story of adventure, the Journal throws much light on the interesting years immediately following the discovery of gold in California. John W. Audubon was (with his brother Victor G. Audubon) the assistant of his father, and executed much of the artistic work on the famous "Quadrupeds of North America." His pictures of the spreading of the gold craze in the East, the journey through Mexico, and the social conditions after reaching California, show him to be a keen and faithful observer.

The Editor, Professor F. H. Hodder, of the University of Kansas, has supplied complete annotation explaining matters of topography, natural science, and historical and personal allusions. Professor Hodder in his editorial work has drawn liberally upon his special knowledge of the history and geography of the West and Southwest. A biographical memoir has been written by Miss Maria R. Audubon. Being the daughter of the author, she has availed herself of a large amount of auxiliary material not accessible to any other biographer.

Printed direct from type on Dickinson's deckle-edged paper, and illustrated with folded map, portrait, and plates, in one volume, 8vo, about 225 pages, cloth, uncut.

Price \$3.00 net.

The Arthur H. Clark Company
PUBLISHERS CLEVELAND, OHIO

PERSONAL NARRATIVE

OF

Travels in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky; and of a Residence in the Illinois Territory: 1817-1818

BY

ELIAS PYM FORDHAM

With facsimiles of the author's sketches and plans

Edited with Notes, Introduction, Index, etc., by

FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG, A.M.

Author of "The Opening of the Mississippi"

AN UNPUBLISHED MS.

This hitherto unpublished MS., which is a real literary and historical find, was written in 1817-18 by a young Englishman of excellent education who assisted Morris Birkbeck in establishing his Illinois settlement. The author writes anonymously, but by a careful study of various allusions in the *Narrative* and from information furnished by the family in possession of the MS., has been identified as Elias Pym Fordham. Landing at Baltimore, he reached the West by way of Philadelphia, Pittsburg, and the Ohio River to Cincinnati, describing the people and the country as he went along.

THE MIDDLE WEST IN 1817

Fordham was an especially well-qualified observer of the Middle West because of the numerous journeys he undertook, on land-hunting trips for new emigrants, in the service of Mr. Birkbeck. These journeys led him into Indiana, Ohio, and Kentucky;

FORDHAM'S PERSONAL NARRATIVE

and he never omits the opportunity to make frank and pointed comment on society, manners, and morals, as well as careful observations of the face of the country and of industrial conditions. The style is quite unaffected and has much natural charm and sprightliness; and the fact that he wrote anonymously made him much more free in his comments on contemporary society than would otherwise have been possible.

LOCAL AND PIONEER HISTORY

These journeys also gave him unexampled opportunities for contact with the pioneers of the Middle West, and his journal is consequently rich in *personalia* of early settlers, remarks on contemporary history and politics, state of trade, agriculture, prices, and information on local history not obtainable elsewhere. He also visited the larger cities and gives very interesting accounts of Pittsburg and Cincinnati, accompanied by original sketches and plans. In Kentucky he had the opportunity to study slavery; and although at first prejudiced against this institution he finally reached the conclusion that the slave states offered better chances of successful settlement than the free states.

VALUE FOR READERS AND STUDENTS

The publication of Fordham's *Narrative* with introduction, extensive annotations, and index by Professor Frederic A. Ogg, one of the best authorities on the history of the Mississippi Valley, will make accessible to historical students much new and important material, besides giving the general reader a book of vital and absorbing interest.

Printed direct from type on Dickinson's deckle-edged paper, and illustrated with original sketches and plans, in one volume, 8vo, about 180 pages, cloth, uncut.

Price \$3.00 net.

The Arthur H. Clark Company
PUBLISHERS CLEVELAND, OHIO

"AN AUTHORITY OF THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE"—Winsor

THE
P R E S E N T S T A T E
OF THE
EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS
ON THE
M I S S I S S I P P I,
WITH
A GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION of that RIVER.
ILLUSTRATED BY
P L A N S AND D R A U G H T S.
By Captain PHILIP PITTMAN.
L O N D O N,
Printed for J. Nourse, Bookseller to His MAJESTY.
MDCCLXX.

Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Index, by
FRANK HEYWOOD HODDER
PROFESSOR OF AMERICAN HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

THIS exceedingly rare work was issued in London, in 1770, and has been so much in demand by historical students and collectors of Americana that even imperfect copies of the original are now almost impossible to obtain at any price. Our text is from a perfect copy of the original with all the folding maps and plans carefully reproduced.

*Only two copies have been offered for sale during the past five years; one copy sold at \$95.00, and the other is now offered by a reliable firm of booksellers at \$105.00.

PITTMAN'S MISSISSIPPI SETTLEMENTS

Pittman's *Mississippi Settlements* contains much valuable original material for the study of the French and Spanish Settlements of old Louisiana, West Florida, and the Illinois country. The author, Captain Philip Pittman, was a British military engineer, and gives an accurate general view of the Mississippi Settlements just after the English came into possession of the eastern half of the valley by the Peace of 1763. His account, written from personal observation, is rich in allusions to the political, social, and military readjustments resulting from this change of possession. "A comprehensive account of the Illinois country and its inhabitants, with sketches in detail of the several French posts and villages situated therein, as personally viewed by him in 1766-67. . . . It contains, in a compact form, much useful and reliable information (nowhere else to be found) concerning the Mississippi Valley and its people at that transition period." —WALLACE: *Illinois and Louisiana under French Rule*.

Dr. William F. Poole in *Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America* says: "It is the earliest English account of those settlements, and, as an authority in early western history, is of the highest importance. He [Pittman] was a military engineer, and for five years was employed in surveying the Mississippi River and exploring the western country. The excellent plans which accompany the work, artistically engraved on copper, add greatly to its value."

An introduction, notes, and index have been supplied by Professor Frank Heywood Hodder, who has made a special study of American historical geography. The value of the reprint is thus enhanced by annotation embodying the results of the latest researches in this field of American history.

The edition is limited to 500 copies, each numbered. It is handsomely printed in large Caslon type on Dickinson's deckle-edged paper. With folding maps and plans. Large 8vo, cloth, uncut, gilt top. Price \$3.00 net.

THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY
PUBLISHERS CLEVELAND, OHIO

EARLY WESTERN TRAVELS

1748-1846

A SERIES of Annotated Reprints of some of the best and rarest contemporary volumes of travel, descriptive of the Aborigines and Social and Economic Conditions in the Middle and Far West, during the Period of Early American Settlement.

Edited with Historical, Geographical, Ethnological, and Bibliographical Notes, and Introductions and Index, by

Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL. D.

With facsimiles of the original title-pages, maps, portraits, views, etc. 31 volumes, large 8vo, cloth, uncut, gilt tops. Price \$4.00 net per volume (except the Maximilien Atlas, which is \$15.00 net). The edition is limited to 750 complete sets, each numbered and signed; but in addition thereto, a limited number of the volumes will be sold separately.

An Elaborate Analytical Index to the Whole

"This new series of historical and geographical works by the scholarly editor of 'The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents,' promises to be particularly valuable and of more than usual popular interest. All the books are rare, some of them exceedingly so, no copy being found in the largest collections on this side of the Atlantic, or in many abroad. They are copiously explained and illustrated by introductions and notes, biographical sketches of the authors, bibliographical data, etc. The series should, of course, be in every public, collegiate, and institutional library, to say nothing of private collections of respectable rank. The works included naturally vary in literary merit and attractiveness, but many of them will compare favorably with the better class of modern books of travel, while some are as fascinating as the best fiction."—The Critic.

THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY
PUBLISHERS CLEVELAND, OHIO

Extracts from a few of the reviews

American Historical Review: "The books are handsomely bound and printed. The editing by Dr. Thwaites seems to have been done with his customary care and knowledge. There is no want of helpful annotations. The books therefore are likely to be of more real value than the early prints from which they are taken."

The Independent: "The editor's annotations make the present series worth possessing, even if one already owns the originals."

The Literary Digest: "It is next to impossible, at this late date, even to a well-endowed public library, to amass a considerable collection of these early travels, so essential to an adequate understanding of the life and manners of the aborigines, and the social and economic conditions in the middle and far West, during the period of early American settlement. The making of a judicious and competent selection of the best and rarest of these writings has become an inevitable requirement; and the patient company of historians, librarians, and scholars will be quick to congratulate each other that the great task has fallen to the hands of so well-equipped an editor as Dr. Thwaites, eminent as an authority on all questions pertaining to the exploration and development of our great Western domain."

The Forum: "A most helpful contribution to the study of the America of a century or so ago."

The Athenæum: "... A series of permanent historical value . . . It ought to find a place in every geographical or historical library."

Public Opinion: "The century that sets the bounds of this work is the most important and interesting in the history of the 'winning of the West;' . . . it is comprehensive, and the materials at the disposal of the editor assure a collection that will be indispensable to every well-equipped public or private library."

The Nation: "A stately series, octavo in size, typographically very open and handsome. The annotations are abundant and highly valuable."

New York Times Saturday Review: "An invaluable series of reprints of rare sources of American history."

The Dial: "An undertaking of great interest to every student of Western history. Exhaustive notes and introductions are by Dr. Thwaites, the foremost authority on Western history, who is also to supply an elaborate analytical index, under one alphabet, to the complete series. This latter is an especially valuable feature, as almost all the rare originals are without indexes."

"We cannot thoroughly understand our own history, local or National, without some knowledge of these routes of trade and war."—*The Outlook*.

The Historic Highways of America

by ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT

A series of monographs on the History of America as portrayed in the evolution of its highways of War, Commerce, and Social Expansion.

Comprising the following volumes:

- I—Paths of the Mound-Building Indians and Great Game Animals.
- II—Indian Thoroughfares.
- III—Washington's Road: The First Chapter of the Old French War.
- IV—Braddock's Road.
- V—The Old Glade (Forbes's) Road.
- VI—Boone's Wilderness Road.
- VII—Portage Paths: The Keys of the Continent.
- VIII—Military Roads of the Mississippi Basin.
- IX—Waterways of Westward Expansion.
- X—The Cumberland Road.
- XI, XII—Pioneer Roads of America, two volumes.
- XIII, XIV—The Great American Canals, two volumes.
- XV—The Future of Road-Making in America.
- XVI—Index.

Sixteen volumes, crown 8vo, cloth, uncut, gilt tops. A LIMITED EDITION only printed direct from type, and the type distributed. Each volume handsomely printed in large type on Dickinson's hand-made paper, and illustrated with maps, plates, and facsimiles.

Published a volume each two months, beginning September, 1902.

PRICE, volumes 1 and 2, \$2.00 net each; volumes 3 to 16, \$2.50 net each.

FIFTY SETS PRINTED ON LARGE PAPER, each numbered and *signed by the author*. Bound in cloth, with paper label, uncut, gilt tops. Price, \$5.00 net per volume.

"The fruit not only of the study of original historical sources in documents found here and in England, but of patient and enthusiastic topographical studies, in the course of which every foot of these old historic highways has been traced and traversed."—*The Living Age*.

"The volumes already issued show Mr. Hulbert to be an earnest and enthusiastic student, and a reliable guide."—*Out West*.

"A look through these volumes shows most conclusively that a new source of history is being developed—a source which deals with the operation of the most effective causes influencing human affairs."—*Iowa Journal of History and Politics*.

"The successive volumes in the series may certainly be awaited with great interest, for they promise to deal with the most romantic phases of the awakening of America at the dawn of occidental civilization."—*Boston Transcript*.

"The publishers have done their part toward putting forth with proper dignity this important work. It is issued on handsome paper and is illustrated with many maps, diagrams, and old prints."—*Chicago Evening Post*.

Stanford University Library
Stanford, California

**In order that others may use this book, please
return it as soon as possible, but not later than
the date due.**



PRINTED IN U.S.A.

